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ART. I.—*Traikutaka Coins from the Poona (Indapur) District.*

BY THE REV. H. R. SCOTT, M.A.

(COMMUNICATED.)

A parcel of coins, belonging to the Traikutaka dynasty, has been sent to me by the Secretary for examination and report, and I have much pleasure in laying the results of my examination before the Society.

The Collector of Poona has informed me that the coins were found on the 13th December, 1905, near the village of Kazad in the Indapur Taluka of the Poona district. The place where they were found is a small hillock on the top of a tableland. The rain seems to have cut a channel in the side of the hillock, and it was in this channel that some children who were herding goats found two of the coins. They took the coins home to their parents, who, finding them to be silver, made a careful search and found the rest of the hoard. Information was not given to the authorities, but news of the treasure trove somehow got abroad, and three months after the finding of the coins the police succeeded in obtaining 92 of them from the villagers. The Mamlatdar was not, however, satisfied with the result of the search, and he appears to have made a personal investigation on the spot, with the result that 267 more coins were recovered. Whether the coins in our possession constitute the whole hoard or only a part of it will never be known now. One can only hope that if a number of the coins have gone to the melting pot (as is only too probable) they may have been only coins of the types that were left.

The place where the coins were found was carefully examined, and no hope is entertained of any more being found there.

Of the 359 coins of the hoard there are two (probably those which were first found by the children) which have been hammered out of all recognition. The rest are in an excellent state of preservation, showing little sign of having been in circulation. The workmanship is of the degenerate quality that we are accustomed to in the Gupta and Valabhi coins of the same period, and the letters lack the clearness which we find in the inscriptions on the earlier coins of the Ksatrapas; still there is no serious difficulty in making out the legends.

correctly, calls them "one of the most familiar puzzles in Indian numismatics," and adds, very truly, that "the characters are so corrupt in some cases as to admit of the possibility of a variety of readings."

The first Traikutaka coin to be recorded was one mentioned by Justice Newton in the Journal of this Society in 1862. The coin, which was evidently a very good specimen, is figured as No. 13 in a plate which accompanies the article, and which appears to have been prepared from drawings of the coins. Justice Newton's coin is clearly of the same type as the majority of the coins in the present hoard, but the inscription was not deciphered at the time. The coin, which was evidently the only one of the kind known at the time, was found near Karad in the Satara district along with some Gadhia coins and coins of various Kṣatrapa kings coming down as far as Visvasena, the son of Bhartṛdaman (300 A.D.).

In the year 1885 a copperplate grant was found at Pārdi, which gave the name of the king who made the grant as Śrī Mahārājā Dahrasena, of the Traikutakas. The grant is dated 207 Samvat. It is now generally agreed that this date is in the Kalachuri era, which began about 248-9 A.D. Thus it is clear that Dahrasena issued the grant in the year 456 A.D.

Two years later, in 1887, a hoard of 500 coins of this dynasty was found at Daman in South Gujarat (a place not far from Pārdi), but apparently only 9 of the coins were preserved. From Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl's account of them it seems clear that they were all coins of Dahragaya, but Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl was not able to read them with certainty, and we know now that the names which he thought might be Indravarma and Rudragaya should be read Indradatta and Dahragaya respectively. The Paṇḍit's incorrect reading of these coins is given in the chapter on the Traikutakas in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I., page 58. The matter has been fully discussed by Professor Rapson in his article on "Indian Coins and Seals, Part VI.," published in the R. A. S. J. for October 1905.

In this article, which is of special interest for the purpose of our present study, Professor Rapson gives the fruit of his examination of the Traikutaka coins in the British Museum, which include Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl's collection, as well as a number in the possession of Colonel Biddulph, and a large number in the collection of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha.

Most of the coins examined by Professor Rapson were of the same type as the great majority of the coins of this hoard, but among the coins in Colonel Biddulph's collection one coin was found which

differed from the rest in giving the king's name as Dahrasena, instead of Dahragana. On the strength of this reading, taken along with the fact that the king's name is given as Dahrasena in the Pārdi copperplate, Professor Rapson argues that we should read the inscription Dahrasena in all cases, regarding the letter which is so like *ga* to be a "broken-down letter" intended for *sa* (\doteq *se*).

It is matter for congratulation that the Poona hoard has supplied three good specimens of the coins with the *sena* variation of the king's name, and one at least of these appears to be in a better condition than the one that Professor Rapson had before him.

These coins prove that at one period—and I am inclined to place it at the beginning of the reign—the king issued coins in which his name was clearly given as Dahrasena, and we know that he was so styled in the Pārdi copperplate grant of 207 S.=456 A.D.

But the reading on the other coins seems to be just as clearly Dahragana, and not Dahrasena. Professor Rapson admits that the letter "certainly seems more like *ga* than anything else," and after a careful examination of the 350 specimens now discovered, I cannot see how the letter can be read otherwise than as *ga*. Professor Rapson was somewhat strengthened in his opinion that *sena* and not *gana* should be read as the termination of the king's name by the fact that the last letter is more like *na* than *na*. But an examination of the copperplates of the fifth century will make it clear that there was at that time very little difference between the shapes of the two letters, and when that is so in the case of the plates where the letters are large and carefully formed, it need not surprise us to find that the distinction is quite lost in the case of these coins.

The conclusion to which I have been led is that the king appears to have altered the termination of his name from *sena* to *gana* at an early period of his reign. It may be thought improbable that so pronounced a change should be made in the name of the king, but that such a thing is not by any means impossible is proved by the instance of the Kalachuri king, Mangaleśa (597 A.D.), whose name appears on perfectly authentic records as Mangaleśa, Mangalarājā Mangaliśa, and Mangaliśwara (Indian Antiquary, 1890, p. 15).

I am unable to offer any explanation of the new termination *gana*, but in this connection it is worth while to remember that (1) there is good reason for holding that the Traikūṭakas ruled the Deccan and South Gujarat in the beginning as subordinate rulers, their use of the Kṣatrapa symbols showing that they regarded the Kṣatrapas as their overlords: and (2) *sena* was a very usual termination

in the names of the later Kṣatrapas: so it is not improbable that Dahrasena may have begun his reign as a tributary ruler of these provinces, and that after a few years he asserted his independence, and as a sign of his emancipation from the yoke of the Kṣatrapas changed the termination of his name. No coins of his father Indradatta have been found, and the presumption is that he never exercised independent authority, in which case the title Mahārāja given to him on his son's coins must be merely honorific, a conclusion which is supported by the fact of his name not being mentioned in the Pārdi copperplate.

That the termination *gaṇa* was in actual use in later times we know from the Bilhari inscription (of the 10th century), where a list of Chedi kings includes one *Sankaragaṇa*, and in one of the Sankheda grants described in the Epigraphia Indica (Vol. II., p. 19) the name *Sankaraṇa* occurs, clearly standing for *Śankaragaṇa*. Then we have the name *Śivagaṇa* in the Kanawda inscription (A. D. 758). (See Indian Antiquary, Feb. 1890.) There is also the Benares copperplate inscription of Karnadeva (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 300), where we have both a *Śankaragaṇa* and a *Śankaragaṇadeva*. These inscriptions are dated in the Kalachuri era.

The case for *gaṇa* as against *śena* is strengthened, if not fully proved, by the inscription on the coins of Dahragana's son, of which I have now to give an account.

As I have already said, the Poona hoard has placed in our hands 4 specimens of the coinage of Dahragana's son. They are not the first to be found (though I was under that happy illusion when the coins came into my hands, and for some time after). In the paper above referred to, Professor Rapson reports on 8 specimens which had been obtained from the collection of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha in 1904. Those coins are now in the British Museum. They do not appear to be very good specimens, for Professor Rapson seems to rely mainly on a single coin for the reading of the inscription. It is therefore matter for congratulation that our 4 specimens are in good condition, and they confirm Professor Rapson's reading of the name of Dahragana's son as most probably Vyaghragaṇa.

The letters which make up the name Vyaghra are certainly not as clear as one could wish, and I had puzzled over them for some time before Professor Rapson's paper came into my hands, but of all possible readings I think this is decidedly the most likely to be the correct one, and Professor Rapson deserves congratulation on his success in solving the problem.

In accordance with his theory that the father's coins are to be read Dahrasena in every case, Professor Rapson makes the son's name Vyaghrasena and not Vyaghraṇa, as I prefer to read it. Now it is a curious thing that in both the father's name and the son's as they appear on the son's coins we have the letter which Professor Rapson admits to be more like *ga* than any other letter. It may be admitted that an imperfect *sa*—a "broken letter"—might get into the die of Dahraṇa's coins, especially as it comes near the end of the inscription, but it is surely not very likely that this "broken letter" would be copied, and that twice over, on the coins of the son. I may be wrong in my opinion, and I certainly have no right to urge it against that of a scholar of Professor Rapson's authority, but I am decidedly of the opinion that we ought to read the names as Dahraṇa and Vyaghraṇa, at any rate until further evidence is available. That of course may happen at any time, as the finding of a copperplate grant in the name of Dahrasena's son would probably settle the matter at once.

There is just one other point to which I wish to draw attention. These Traikutaka kings describe themselves as Parama Vaishnava, *i.e.*, devoted followers of Vishnu, and it is interesting to note that about the same time the Gupta kings called themselves on their coins Parama Bhāgawata, *i.e.*, devoted followers of Bhagawān, and the Abhira kings proclaimed to the world that they were Parama Māheśvara, *i.e.*, devoted followers of Siva.

NOTE

ON REV. H. R. SCOTT'S PAPER ON THE TRAIKUTAKA COINS.

I happen to be in a position to supply the evidence desired by Mr. Scott regarding the name of Dahraṇa's (or Dahrasena's) son. Some years ago a copperplate from Surat was sent to me for decipherment by the Secretary, but I have never been able to decipher it so completely as to publish it in full. I can, however, say that it distinctly refers itself to the Traikutaka dynasty, that it is dated, in figures only, in the year 231, and that it gives only the name of the granting king, without any genealogy. This name I was originally disposed to read as (A) vyayasena, but subsequently, though before I had seen Mr. Scott's paper, I came to the conclusion that it must be Vyāghrasena. I can state that the last two syllables of the name are quite clear on the plate, though the first two are not quite so certain. However, with the aid of Mr. Scott's coins, we can now confidently read the first two syllables as Vyāghra. The evidence of this copperplate does not, however, absolutely settle the question whether there was not another form, ending in *gaṇa*, for each of these two

royal names. It is perhaps worth noting that a name ending in *gaṇa* would be properly borne by a worshipper of Śiva, whose attendants or *gaṇas* are the demons or spirits whose leader is Gaṇapati or Vinayaka. If the elder of our two kings had been originally a worshipper of Śiva, he might well have called himself Dahragāṇa, and changed his name to Dahrasena on becoming a Vaishṇava. It is, however, perhaps hardly likely that if he had done this he would still have called his son Vyāghragāṇa.

A. M. T. JACKSON.

ART. II.—*Khadāvadā Inscription of Gyāsa Sahi.*

[*Vikrama*] *Samvat* 1541.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Poona.

(*Communicated.*)

This inscription, which is published for the first time, was discovered by Major Dube, when Chief Gazetteer Officer, Indore Durbar, on a well at Khadāvadā in the district of Rāmpurā in the Indore territory. The stone bearing the inscription was lying in his house in 1905, and it is from the paper-impressions kindly supplied by him that the following transcript is prepared.

The writing, to judge from the impressions, covers a space of about 4'-9" broad by 1'-10" high and is in a state of fair preservation throughout. The characters are *devanagari* of the 15th century. The language is Sanskrit; and with the exception of the opening salutation to Gaṇeśa and Bhārati and the concluding benediction to the scribe and the reciter, the entire inscription is in verse. The fault of *vatibhaṅga* or break of caesura frequently occurs in this poetic composition, and solecisms, though few, are not altogether absent. Verses 51-54 are characterised by *yamaka* or repetition of letters of the same sound at the end of two consecutive *pādis*. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the substitution of *chchha* for *stha* in *chchhirsbhava* in l. 14, in *chchhina* in ll. 15-16, and so forth. (2) the disregard of the rule of *samdhī* in the case of *t* and *ś*, e.g., in *vahat-śālmali* in l. 16, (3) the use of *v* for *b* only twice, in verses 63 and 64, and (4) the splitting up of conjunct consonants into two separate letters, in *dolayan-tyātmiyam* l. 21, *paris-khala* l. 22, and so forth. As regards lexicography, it is to be remarked that the poet is very fond of using rare or obscure words; e.g., no less than three such words occur in l. 22, viz. *khidga*, *chamātaka* and *laṃgura*.

After the adoration and invocation of deities as usual, the composer of the inscription describes, in magniloquent terms in verses 5-6, the glory and prosperity of the country of Mālava (Mālwa), where both Śiva and Kārttikeya, leaving the Himālayas, had, we are told, fixed their abode. In this country there was triumphant (v. 7) at the city of Māṇḍavya on the Vindhya mountains a king of the name of Hūsaṃga, a Gori, a gem of the Yavana race, and the sun to the lotuses, viz., the Śaka tribe. The king mentioned is undoubtedly Hūshang (Alp Khān) Ghūri, the second Sultan of Mālwa, who first made Māṇḍū (Māṇḍavya) his capital. In verse 8 Māṇḍū is compared to the capital town of Indra, and, in the verse following, nothing but

conventional praise has been bestowed upon Sultan Hūshang. The next verse (10), if we carefully notice the *double entendre* obviously intended, informs us that Hūshang secured a number of elephants from the Vindhya mountains, after making friends with Naganātha. Historians assert that Hūshang went disguised as a horse-dealer to Jājñagar (Jājpur) in Cuttack in Orissa to barter his horses for the war-elephants of the Rājā of Jājñagar, and was successful in securing 150 elephants there to fight against the Sultan of Gujarāt with whom he was at war. Naganātha may, therefore, be reasonably supposed to be no other person than the prince of Jājñagar himself. Verse 11 describes his defeat of the king of Kālapriyāpattana, Kādīrasāhi by name, who ceded his son, daughter and ministers to Hūshang. They all repaired to the city of Maṇḍapa (Māṇḍū), and the most pre-eminent of them all was Khāna Salaha (v. 12) who became an object of confidence with Hūshang. Kālapriyāpattana must undoubtedly be Kālpī in Bundelkhand, and Kādīrasāhi, Abdul Kādūr, a Delhi officer in charge of this fortress, which the Ferishta represents Hūshang to have reduced, but which after receiving homage was delivered back by him to Abdul Kādūr. In the verse following (13), we are told that Salaha was originally a minister of Kādīra Sāhi, and was, owing to his fitness, appointed to the same post by Hūshang who made him a Khān, and entirely left the work of administration to him. Verse 14 says that after the death of Hūshang, the throne was seized by Mahamūda, the sun to the water-lily, *viz.*, the Khilchī family. Muḥammad (Ghazni Khān), son of Hūshang, is thus passed over, and the name of the usurper Maḥmūd Shāh I. Khālji, mentioned in the inscription. The next verse describes the latter's conquests. He desolated Dhillī (Dehli), harassed the Chola king, subjugated the province of Utkala (Orissa), and vanquished the Draviḍa king. Verse 16 refers to the implicit confidence reposed by Maḥmūd in Salaha, who destroyed (v. 17) eighty elephants of the Sultan of Gujarāt who had assailed with his army the Sultan of Mālwa. The Sultan of Gujarāt here referred to must be Muzaḥfar I. The next verse informs us that Gayāsa succeeded Maḥmūd to the throne. Gayāsa, or Gyāsa as he is called further on, is unquestionably Ghīyās Shāh Khālji. Verses 19-20 are a pure eulogy of Gyāsa Sāhi, the ornament of the Pārasika race. In the verse following, we are told that Salaha was allowed to retain his post by Ghīyās also. Verse 22 contains nothing but conventional praise of Salaha, but, from the next verse, we glean that, on hearing of a rebellion raised by Śabarās, Salaha appointed Baharī, who was regarded as son from his birth by

¹ I am indebted to Munshi Deviprasādji of Jodhpur for this identification.

the former, to quell the revolt. Verse 24 describes the defeat inflicted by Baharī on the Śabara kings at the city of Khidāvadā on the bank of the Charmanvatī (Chambal). Khidāvadā is unquestionably Khaḍāvadā, where the inscription was found. Verse 25 gives no historical information, but the verse following tells us that Baharī, lord of Pārasikas, vanquished a king named Kshemakarna at Śamkhoddhāra between the two banks of the river raised by Rantideva, i.e., the Chambal. Verse 27 also contains the historical information that Baharī extracted the dart, *vis.*, Ivarāhima, which was rankling in the breast of the Sultan of Mālava. But who this Ivarāhima or Ibrāhim was, is unknown to me. The next three verses set forth the munificent nature of Baharī, and from verse 31 we learn that Baharī, leader of Śakas, excavated a tank in the town of Śālmālimat. From the next verse we gather that to the north of this tank he had dug another tank, which was thought to be a small milky ocean. The verse following tells us that he constructed another tank to the north of this. Verses 34-35 describe the tanks and the many advantages conferred thereby on the passers-by. In verse 36 we are informed that in Khidāvada to the south of that city he constructed a spacious step-well, to a poetic description of which the *praśastikāra* has devoted the next eight verses. Verse 45 further informs us that, above and surrounding the well, he raised a nice attractive orchard, which is also described at length in no less than ten verses. Verse 56 pronounces the wish that Baharī, his sons and grandsons, be spared together with the well as long as the Meru, the sun, and so forth endure. In verses 57-62 the poet sets forth his own genealogy. In the lineage of Bhrigu, we are told, there was Śrī-Somanātha who performed the sacrificial rites of the spring season every year; his son was Narahari, who was an expert in logic, and who, being a reciter of the Vedas appropriately bore the *biruda* of *ilā-tala-virañchi*, i.e., "the god Brahmā on the surface of the earth." From Narahari sprang Śrī-Keśava, who was also known as Jhoṭiṅga. His son was Atri, who was conversant with *vedānta*, *mīmāṃsā*, and rhetoric, who was the leader of the Daśapura Brāhmaṇa caste, and who was held in respect by the Guhila king Kumbha. His son was Śrī-Maheśa, lord of poets, proficient in *darśanas* and an able dilectician. He lived as poet in Mālava for some time, and it was he who composed the *praśasti* engraved on the well of Baharī. All these verses (57-62) except the last, descriptive of the genealogy of Maheśa, the composer of our *praśasti*, occur with slight changes in an inscription in the celebrated temple of Eklingjī, 14 miles north of Udaipur, Mewār. This record which is dated in V. E. 1545 and is consequently posterior to our

inscription by four years, was also composed by Maheśa, who then, as he himself tells us therein, was a poet in the assembly of the Guhila sovereign Rājamalla. Maheśa's father Atri, as we have seen, was honoured by Kumbhakarna. We are not informed whether he was his *protégé*. Probably he was. But though it is not certain that Maheśa's father flourished in the court of a Guhila prince, there can be no doubt that Maheśa was, and that he was the recipient of the patronage of Kumbhakarna's son, Rājamalla. This patronage he enjoyed till at least V. E. 1556, the date of the inscription found at Ghosūṇḍī, which was composed by Maheśa himself, and which records the construction of a step-well by Śrīṅgāṇa-devī, queen of Rājamalla.

From verse 63 we learn that the work of excavating the well was completed on Thursday, the *Dharma-tithi* of the bright half of Kārtika, in Vikrama Samvat 1541, during the Paridhāvin cyclic year. *Dharma-tithi* is the second *tithi* of the bright half of Kārtika, also called *Yama-tithi*, or, in Marāṭhī, *Dharmarājichī bij*. The date, as kindly calculated for me by the late Prof. Kielhorn, regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 21st October A.D. 1484. The learned Doctor further informed me that this day fell in the year Paridhāvin, which commenced 17 hours 1 minute after mean sunrise of the 28th June A.D. 1484 and that here we had a good instance of the strict mean-sign system (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 411).

Verses 64-67 give us interesting information about the genealogy of Śalaha. In Hamīrpura there was a king called Śrī-Bhairava, who was the son of the Karachulli family. Hamīrpura is doubtless the same as Hamīrapurā, the principal town of the district of the same name, now comprised in the United Provinces. Karachulli, again, appears to be the same as Kalachuri, whose rule was supreme in Central Provinces. Of King Bhairava there was one Sumedhas, who was the best *Mādhyamdina* Brāhmaṇa, and who was attached to two Vedas. From Sumedhas sprang Arthapati, who elevated his Bhārgava *gotra* by his merits. His son was Purushottama, a devotee of Śiva, and his son was Ghuḍaū, who was made a *pārasika*, i.e., a Muhammadan, by Kādīra Sāhi. After becoming a *yavana*, Ghuḍaū assumed the name Śalaha and was made a khān by Mahamūda, i.e., Maḥmud Shāh I. In verse 68 is contained the other interesting fact that Śalaha made Baharī a *yavana*, who was originally a *Kshatriya*. The last verse (69), as might naturally be expected, tells us that the mason who constructed the well was Kshetrasimha, son of Jhāmjhā.

TEXT¹.

- 1.—स्वस्ति श्रीगणेशभारताभ्यान्नमः ॥ आनंदोत्सुंगतनवे विशुद्धज्ञानभानवे ॥^१ विश्वप्र-
काशिने तस्मै नमः कस्मैचिदस्तु नः ॥ १ ॥ उदित्वरदिवाकरद्युतिसपत्नरत्नप्र-
भाविभासितमभीप्सितं दिशतु बोधैवामं वपुः ॥ हरस्य हरिणेक्षणीमवनदशिताम—
- 2.—त्सरस्मरस्मरणमिदुमत्कचन विदुमत् कुत्रचित् ॥ २ ॥^२रणचरणधर्षरीविततताल-
सङ्गल्लरीपरीतसुरजस्वनोनुगततांडवाडंबरः ॥^३प्रपोथयतु मन्मथं प्रतिरथांगभूभौ-
वुकप्रभूतपरिपंथिनः प्रचयवारिवाचां^४ पथि ॥ ३ ॥ पुरारिपुरसुंदरीचिकुरविस्फुर-
न्मंजरीपरागपरिपिंजरीकृतमगेन्द्रकन्ये तव ॥ भजामि चरणद्वयं कृतसरोजगर्वव्ययं
प्रपंचय वच^५ स्वयं क्षटिति
- 3.—वाणि कल्याणि मे ॥४॥ जयत्यवनिमंडनं जनपदः पदं संपदां स मालवसमाह्वयः
पदम (?) मास यत्रादधौ ॥ शिवः शरवणोद्भवः सदनमुच्चकैश्चात्मनश्चकार रज-
ताचलं परिहरन् गुणांभोनिधौ ॥ ५ ॥ ग्रामे ग्रामे चित्रसत्रैः पवित्रैर्वीतत्रासाः
संसृतेर्यत्र संतः ॥ लोकाः कोकमित्रमित्राननानामंतस्तोषं विभ्रमैर्बिभ्रति
- 4.—स्मा॥६॥ अमुष्मिन् दुर्वारप्रतिरथपुरंध्रीपरीचितप्रतापश्रीगौरी यवनकुलरत्नं व्यजयता॥
गिरौ विध्येवंध्यद्रुममहिममांडव्यनगरे हुसंगक्षोणीद्रः शकनिकरपंकेरुह्रविः ॥ ७ ॥
यन्मंदाकिनयति निश्वरसरित्रीराणि यन्नंदनं मुद्यत्केलिवनानि कल्पतरवंतीभ्याश्च
दंभक्षिपः ॥ यच्चास्मिन् सुरकोविदंति कवयो नाना—
- 5.—कलाहंयवस्तन्मांडव्यपुरं पुरंदरपुरः पर्यायतां [नांचतु] ॥ ८ ॥ हुसंगक्षोणीद्रे
कलितकरवाले विदधिर न धीराः संचारं विमतमतयः संगरभुवि ॥ स्फुटं पाणी
तेषामनुचरिभूतः के स्म मुकुलं दलत्कोशौ दंतास्तृणभरमनेष्टामपि भयात् ॥ ९ ॥
विध्याचलाद्गुरुगजव्रजमाजहार कृत्वा हुसंगनृपतिनेगनाथमाप्यं ॥ प्रत्य—
- 6.—धिर्वारवरसंगररोधहेतो^६ सेतोः कृताविष गिरिव्रजमांजनेयः ॥ १० ॥ काले दिग्वि-
जयोद्यतः परपुरप्राकारमंगोलसद्बोर्द्धर्षः कचिदभ्यषेणयदयं कालप्रियापत्तनं ॥ व्रस्तः
कादिरसाहिरस्य नृपतिस्तस्मादुपाजीहरत्तत्सुनुं निजकन्यकां सह महामात्यैः
कियाद्विभुं ॥ ११ ॥ सर्वेमी सुधियो गुणैरनणुभिश्चिते निजस्वामिनस्तोषं
तेनुरदोपमेत्य नगरं श्रीमंडपख्याति—
- 7.—मत् ॥ अग्रण्यः समभूदमीषु समदप्रत्यर्थिदर्पोपहः खानश्रासलहा हुसंगयवनाधी-
शस्य विश्वासभूः ॥ १२ ॥ पूर्व कादिरसाहिभूमिरमणः साचिव्यमत्रादधावौचित्येन

¹ From ink-impressions.

² Read "सङ्गल्लरी."

The reading of this letter is 'The reading of the first four
doubtful.

letters is not certain.

³ Read वचः

⁴ The reading 'सथ' for 'रोष' is not impossible.

- हुसंगसाहिरपि च प्रायुक्तं कृत्येषु तं ॥ एनं खानपदेभिषिच्य भुजयोरेतस्य भूत्वा
 भरं भूमेः शर्म स नर्मजातमभजङ्गपः कियद्वत्सरं ॥ १३ ॥ हुसंगक्षोणीशेनुस-
- 8.—रति यशःशेषसरणिं धरां धाराधारामधृत महमूदक्षितिपतिः ॥ प्रजा यस्मिन् खिल्वी-
 कुलकमलभानौ प्रभवति प्रभूतार्थानर्थध्वनितमधृतार्थं व्यष्टुणुत ॥ १४ ॥ दिह्लिमुन्नाद-
 शिल्लिमुखरतरुचरद्रह्लिपल्लीमुदचञ्चोलं वित्रासलोलं विषटनविवशानुत्कलानां प्रदे-
 शान् ॥ चक्रं चक्रेतिरौद्रद्रविडपरिवृद्धस्यापि दिग्जैत्र-
- 9.—यात्रारंभभ्रङ्गमात्रादमहिममहमूदक्षिताद्रो विनिद्रं ॥ १५ ॥ असौ भुवो भारमुदार-
 चित्ते निधाय खाने सलहाभिधाने ॥ न किं ददौ कन्न जिगाय किन्न जहौ न भोग्यं
 कतमद्भुभोज ॥ १६ ॥ मालवमभिषेणयतो गूर्जरनृपतेरर्शातिमातंगान् ॥ संगरगिरि-
 वरचारी जधान सलहाह्वकेसरी कुपितः ॥ १७ ॥ संप्राप्य मानुषजनपदः फलमप्यशेष-
- 10.—मंतर्दधे स महमूदमहीमहेंद्रः ॥ राज्यं गयासनुपमात्मजमर्हणीयमानीय निजित-
 विपक्षमपेक्षणीयं ॥ १८ ॥ माण्डव्यदुर्गमधितिष्ठति ग्यासभूपे न व्यासमापुररिभूमि-
 भूतो जगत्यां ॥ प्राच्याचले चलति चंडरुचावचंडाः किं कौशिकाः कचन
 कौशलमावहंति ॥ १९ ॥ दंडः केवलमातपत्रनिचये मुक्तासु वेधावधिर्धवः कंचुकसं-
- 11.—धिषु प्रतिबलं वाजिप्रज्ञे चापलं ॥ उद्वाहे करपीडनं कुन्वयुगे काठिन्यमुन्नीयते
 भूमिं शासति पारसीकतिलके श्रीग्यासमाहिप्रभौ ॥ २० ॥ तातप्रेमारपदत्वाद्गुणगण-
 गरिमालंकृतत्वाद्ग्यासक्षोणीभृत्कृत्यजाते शलहमधिकृतेश्वभ्यर्षिचक्रप्रधानं ॥ कार्यं
 साफल्यमागात्समुचितमुररीकुर्वतानेननीरप्राचुर्ये-
- 12.—णाभिषृद्धं वनमिव सहसा संभृतं दोहदेन ॥ २१ ॥ आकर्णाकृष्टचापच्युतश नि-
 करोन्निन्नवक्षोविपक्षक्षोणीभृद्भूरिक्षक्षतत्रपरिलसत्संगरोवसिरसु ॥ धावद्दालारघात-
 प्रपतदरिशिरास्यंजनांभोजशोभामाविःकुर्यति यत् श्रीशलहनरपतेर्युद्धवैदग्ध्यमेतत् ॥
 २२ ॥ गयासक्षोणीप्रतिनिधिरथोन्नीय शबरप्रभृतं वा-
- 13.—यस्यां दिशि जनपदत्रासमनिशं ॥ सुतप्रायं बाल्यान्नुपचरितमध्याप्य बहरी
 महावीरं वैरिप्रशमविधयेयोजयदयं ॥ २३ ॥ स्वामित्वं धरणेनिजेशवचनादासादय-
 न्नुद्धुरं दुर्गं दुर्गमचीकरत्स बहरी सद्योधविद्याधरं ॥ प्राच्यां चारुखिडावदाह्वयपुरे
 चर्मन्वतीतीरके^३ वामं पादमिव प्रतापिशबरक्षोणीभुजां मूर्द्धनि ॥ २४ ॥ बहरी
 शृगेंद्र इव
- 14.—कंदरं गिरेनिजदुर्गमाप्य रिपुकुंजरव्रजं ॥ शरशक्तिकुंतनखरेर्व्यंदादरन्निशितैरिवाश-
 निभिरद्रिमद्रिभिः ॥ २५ ॥ शंखोद्धारे रतिदेवोद्धृतायाः स्रोतस्विन्यास्तीरमध्येभ्य-

Read "जनुःफल"

* Read यच्छी'.

' Read चर्मन्वती.

- 21.—जैर्मजुसिजानहंसैरंहिन्यासैरंचितेवाविभाति¹ ॥ ४० ॥ यक्षीराहरणोपनञ्जतरुणी
कुंभं जले दोलयन्त्यात्मीयं परिचिन्वती गुरुकुचद्वंद्वानुबिबद्वयं ॥ नो गृह्णाति घटं
न गच्छति तटं वाटं न बावेक्षते संपन्नभ्रमविभ्रमा त्रिकलशोमेवेक्षते विस्मिता ॥ ४१ ॥
नीरक्रीडासंगैर्यत्र कांता वेणित्राणाबद्धचंडातकांताः ॥ वीचीदोलालोलनीवीमि-
वेशाः स्वि—
- 22.—गैरंगीचक्रिरे² वारवध्वः ॥ ४२ ॥ अनर्घ्यतरदीर्घिकातरणसंमिलत्कामिनीकुचस्थ-
लपरिस्खलनमृगमदैकपंकाविले ॥ सुपंशलशिलयतले कमलमंडलीमंतिकेप्यपास्य
परिविभ्रति भ्रमणमत्र भृंगस्रजः ॥ ४३ ॥ उत्तुंगस्तनभारलंगुरुगुरुश्रृंगणाश्रमव्याकुला
यक्षीराहरणाध्वनीनतरुणी विश्रांतिमृच्छेदिति ॥ छायाभूरुहराजिमत्र बहरी—
- 23.—वीरो मुदा बावपद्यामुदक्षति³ न कुत्रचिन्नवनबोलासावतंसश्रियः ॥ ४४ ॥
उपर्युपरि दीर्घिकां समतले धरामडले मनोहरतरुश्रिया तरणितापलापोन्नतां ॥
दलत्कुसुमसौरभभ्रमदभंगभृंगावलीमिलन्मृदुलकाकलीमकृत सोत्र वाटी विभुः ॥
॥ ४५ ॥ श्रोणीभारचलद्रसालवितपव्यालंबिदोलामिलद्वामोरूचलचोलिकांचलचल-
द्रातैरपेत—
- 24.—श्रमः ॥ जेतुं पंचशरः शरानिव जगद्भूयां जितं विभ्रमानिभ्यो लंभ-
यति स्म सैनिकधिया मन्येत्त लीलावने ॥ ४६ ॥ पनसे पचेलिमफले चलदृशा
कतभेन नास्मृत्यत⁴ यत्र कानने ॥ परिरंभसंभ्रमदलत्तनूरुहा विरहे प्रियापृथुप-
योधरद्वयी ॥ ४७ ॥ स्पर्धते लकुचफलानि बालिकानामुद्भिन्नस्तयुगलेन⁵ कानने-
स्मिन् ॥ कुंदानामावकलकोर—
- 25.—कक्षजोपि व्याकोशाधरपुटविम्फुरत्तग्मितेन ॥ ४८ ॥ आश्रये कुसुमितमालतीलताना-
मासाद्यामलजलदाधिकाभिषिक्तः ॥ स्वेदांभोनिवहमलुंपदंगनानामश्रांतं श्रमजमसुत्र
गंधवाहः ॥ ४९ ॥ इदं कचन काननं मृदुलमल्लिकाशोभनं कचित्कनककेतकप्रकरभू-
रिवानीरवत् ॥ कचिन्मधुरसारसग्राहिलकोकिलविभ्रमं कचित्तत्तृणपल्लवैरगणितांतराल-
द्रुमं ॥ ५० ॥
- 26.—वनं कापि पुन्नागरगावरुद्धं⁶ कचित्तुंगनारंगमंगावनद्धं ॥ कचिच्चंपकरवच्छगुच्छप्रपंचं
कचिद्भंगसंरब्धसंगीतसंचं ॥ ५१ ॥ कचिच्चित्तमुत्कण्ठते मंजुगंधं मनो मोदते कुत्रचित्कुं-
जबंधे ॥ इहाहंयुजा या जहाति प्रकोपं प्रिये नानुरागस्य धत्ते विलोपं ॥ ५२ ॥
कचित्सारणीवारिपूरा बलात कचिन्मालतीपुष्पमाला दन्ति ॥ कचित्कोकिला मंजु
सज्जति गा—

¹ Read 'रंघ्रि'.² Read उज्झन्ति.³ Read 'स्तनयुगलेन.⁴ Read प्रिष्टै.⁵ Read नास्मृत्यत.⁶ Read पुन्नागं.

27.—नं कचिद्योषितस्तेन मुंचति [मानं] ॥ ५३ ॥ कचिन्नालिकेरीतरुश्रेणिसंपन्निकुं-
जीमवधूथिकावल्लिसंसृ ॥ मिलन्मातुलिंगद्रुमद्रोणिपुन्यते वने राजते पार्सीकप्र-
युक्ते ॥ ५४ ॥ विटपानुपंगकृतकंटकव्यथां शतपत्रचित्रकुसुमावचायिकां ॥ विजनेपि
मालिकयुवात्र कानने विगतागसं न रमणीममन्यत ॥ ५५ ॥ यावत्शेषशिरस्सु^१
भूमिवलयं भूमंड-

28.—ले मध्यतो मेरुमैरुगिरावसावहरहः प्रद्योतते भास्करः ॥ तावद्वापिकया सहेह
बहरी सत्पुत्रपौत्रावृतो निःप्रत्यूहमचंचलप्रमुदितश्रीसंश्रितो नंदतु ॥ ५६ ॥ वंशे
भृगोभेगवतो भुवनप्रकाशे चंद्रावतंसचरणबुजचंचरीकः ॥ आसीत्पवित्रचरितोनु-
वसंतयाजी श्रीसोमनाथधरणीविवुधो धरण्यां ॥ ५७ ॥ तस्यात्मजो नरहरिर्हरिरेव
साक्षादान्वी-

29.—क्षीर्काकुमुदकाननशांतभानुः ॥ आसीदिल्यातलविरंचिरिति स्फुटार्थं यो वेद वेद-
वसतिर्विरुदं बभार ॥ ५८ ॥ तस्मादंबुजिनीपतेरिव मनुश्चंडद्युतिः कश्यपादंभोजास-
नतो भृगुजलनिधेर्यद्रसुधादीधितिः ॥ संजातो नृहरेरहीनमहिमा श्रीकेशवः कीर्त्ति-
मान् यो झोटिंग इति प्रथामुदवहदुर्वादिपंचाननः ॥ ५९ ॥ अत्रिस्तत्तनयो नयकनि-

30.—लयो वेदांतदांतस्थितिर्मांसारसमांसलतुलमतिः साहित्यसौहित्यवान् ॥ मान्यः
श्रीगुहिलान्वयांबुजवतीविद्योतनस्याभवत्श्रीमत्कुंभमहीपतेर्द्देशपुरज्ञातिद्विजाग्रेसरः^२
॥ ६० ॥ अत्रेः सूनुर्दर्शनांभोजभानुर्वांदश्रेणीवाक्यवल्लीकृशानुः ॥ किं-
चित्कालं मालवेराजतोषकाव्योह्लासेः श्रीमहेशः कवीद्रः ॥ ६१ ॥ बहरीविनिर्मि-

31.—तमुर्दीर्घदीर्घिकामधि स प्रशस्तिमकरोन्महेश्वरः ॥ अनवद्यप्यविकसद्रसश्रिया
परितर्पितोत्तमकवीद्रमानसः ॥ ६२ ॥ श्रीमद्विक्रमभूमिभर्तृसमयाच्छाद्रागमेध्विदुभि-
विख्याते परिधावित्सरवरे मासे लसत्कार्तिके ॥ शुक्ले धर्मतिथौ बृहस्पतियुते^३
पूर्णाभवद्दीर्घिका दीर्घायुर्बहरी बहूनि वितरन् वित्तानि यामातनोव ॥ ६३ ॥
मध्ये सितासि-

32.—तसरिद्वितयं चकास्ति पूः पावनश्रुतिहमीरपुराभिधाना ॥ तस्यां बभूव^४ करचु-
लिकुलांशुमाली श्रीभैरवो नृपतिरुग्रतरप्रतापः ॥ ६४ ॥ श्रीभैरवावनिपतेरभवत्सु-
मेधा माध्यादिनद्विजवरः कुशलद्विवेदः ॥ तत्सूनुरर्थपतिरुच्चतरं चकार गोत्रं
गुणैरनणु भार्गवनामधेयं ॥ ६५ ॥ तत्सूनुः पुरुषोत्तमस्त्रिनयनं भक्त्या समाराधयन्
वेदव्याकृतिसंप्रदायप-

^१ Read यावच्छेषः.

^२ Read बृहस्पतिः.

^३ Read 'भवच्छ्री'.

^४ Read बभूव.

33. —रमाचार्यो बभूवावनौ ॥ तत्पुत्रो घुडक कलासु कुशलो मान्योस्ति भूमिभुजामेनं
कादिरसाहिभूपतिरनैषीत् पारसीकस्थितिं ॥६६॥ यवनत्वमाप्य घुडक गुणांशुभिः
प्रभुतावशेन शलहामिधामधात् ॥ अभणञ्च खानममुमुप्रतेजसं महमूदभूपतिरनल्प-
विक्रमः ॥६७॥ शलहो यवनमकर्षाद्बहरीवीरं च बाहुजं जात्या ॥ पत्नौ वर्णितं
पूर्वौ महे-
34. —शकविना प्रसंगसंगत्या ॥६८॥ झांझासुनुर्दाधिकं क्षेत्रसिंहः शस्ताकारां सत्रधारो
व्यधत् ॥ शिल्पं यस्यावेक्ष्य कश्चिन्न शिल्पी शिल्पे गर्वग्रंथिमुर्व्या विभर्ति ॥ ६९॥
शुभं भवतु लेखकपाठकयोः ॥ शुभं ॥ छ ॥

ART. III.—*Bhāmaha's Attacks on the Buddhist
Grammarian Jinendrabuddhi.*

By K. B. PATHAK,

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The late Dr. Kielhorn, whose death is a great loss to Sanskrit scholarship and who laid Indian students under deep obligations by his studies in Indian literature, contributed a paper on Śiśupālavadhā II, 112, to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for April 1908. The epigraphic evidence in support of the date of the Śiśupālavadhā, which is referred to in that paper, need not be considered here, as it is so unsatisfactory that it does not prove the date of Māgha. Conscious perhaps of the weakness of this part of his argument, the learned scholar proceeds to make the following statements :—

1. Mallinātha's interpretation of Māgha's verse II, 112, is wrong.
2. The title Nyāsa, Dr. Kielhorn says, he has not found in any of the five mss. of Jinendrabuddhi's work he has examined.
3. Jinendrabuddhi has freely copied from Haradatta's Pada-manjari.
4. In an Introductory verse it is intimated that the author (Jinendrabuddhi) made use of other commentaries, so that his work [the Nyāsa] cannot have been the first commentary on the Kāśikāvṛtti.

Dr. Kielhorn so sincerely believed in Haradatta's priority to Jinendrabuddhi that he uses the expression "according to Haradatta and Jinendrabuddhi" and "strongly recommends those to whom the mss. of the Deccan College are readily accessible" to substantiate his statements. But it is deeply to be regretted that the learned scholar should have lent the weight of his authority to the last three statements, merely relying on "his impression" formed "many years ago." His second statement is contradicted by the fact that the title Nyāsa occurs nine times on the margin of the leaves 234b—242b in the D. C. ms. No. 34 of 1881-82. Two of the manuscripts of the Nyāsa, "examined" and "studied" by him, contain the celebrated passage attacked by the rhetorician Bhāmaha and refuted by Haradatta, which will presently be made use of to ascertain the time of Bhāmaha as well as that of Jinendrabuddhi. Śāyana's opinion that Jinendrabuddhi was older than Haradatta will be also quoted

and confirmed by citations from the Nyāsa and the Padamañjar. As regards Dr. Kielhorn's fourth statement it will be shown that the second introductory verse in the Nyāsa can not bear the interpretation put upon it by the learned scholar.

In an interesting paper entitled "Notes on Alankāra literature" contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for April 1897, Col. Jacob says: "No complete work of this writer [Bhāmaha] now remains and we are ignorant of his exact date. We know, however, that he is older than Udbhaṭa who wrote a commentary styled Bhāmaha-Vivarāṇa on some treatise of his." A manuscript of Bhāmaha's Kāvyaśālankāra has lately been discovered by Professor M. Rangacharya of the Presidency College, Madras. That this work is the genuine production of the celebrated author Bhāmaha himself is amply proved by the fact that numerous verses ascribed to Bhāmaha, which occur in Alankāra literature, can be easily traced in it. It may also be mentioned here that the originals of about 31 Kannaḍa verses in the Kāvyaśālōkana¹ are found in this work, which corroborates the statement of Nāgavarama II that he was indebted to Bhāmaha. Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa² also owes many of his definitions of Alankāras to this work. Two verses³ in this work are explained by Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa; one of these is explained by him in his Bhāmahavivarāṇa. From this it would seem that this work the Kāvyaśālankāra of Bhāmaha is the original text on which Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa wrote his commentary called Bhāmahavivarāṇa.

The general impression among Sanskrit scholars was that Bhāmaha lived prior to Daṇḍi. But in a paper entitled Bhāmaha the rhetorician contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for July 1905, Mr. M. T. Narasimhiengar has, I think, conclusively proved that Bhāmaha is later than Daṇḍi. But the date of Bhāmaha has not been fixed. I now propose to settle this point. At the close of the sixth chapter of the Kāvyaśālankāra we are told that Pāṇini is a most reliable authority.

श्रेष्ठं जगति मतं हि पाणिनीयं

माध्यस्थ्यत् भवति न कस्य चित्प्रमाणम्

When we are in doubt as to whether an expression is correct or not, we should, says Bhāmaha, be guided by the supplementary notes of Kātyāyana or the great commentary of Patañjali.

सिद्धो यश्चापस इत्याना दिष्टया यश्चापपादितः ।

तमाद्रियेत प्रायेण न तु योग विभागजम् ॥

¹ Bibl. Carn. Ed. App. 1a.

² J. R. A. S. 1897, p. 825 ff. अक्षेप, विभावना, अतिशयोक्ति.

³ Dhvanyāloka Com., Kāvyaśālā Ed. p. 10. J. R. A. S. for 1897, p. 332, footnote 1. The

verse एकदे शस्य विगमे belongs to Bhāmaha (III, 23.)

But Bhāmaha very carefully warns us against accepting the opinion of the Nyāśakāra supported by a mere inference deduced from the words of Pāṇini.

शिष्टप्रयोगमात्रेण न्यासकारमतेन वा ।

तृचा समस्तषष्ठीकम् कथंचिदुदाहरेत् ॥

सूत्रज्ञापकमात्रेण वृत्रहन्ता यथोदितः ।

अकेन च न कुर्वीत वृत्तिं तद्रमको यथा ॥

Chap. VI, 36 & 37.

TRANSLATION.

One should under no circumstances employ a genitive compound ending in तृच् such as वृत्रहन्ता either on the ground that such compounds are used by the learned or in accordance with the opinion of the Nyāśakāra by the more ज्ञापक or inference drawn from [Pāṇini's] sūtra. Nor should one form a compound with अक like तद्रमक.

Pāṇini has prohibited the formation of genitive compounds with verbal derivatives ending in तृच् and अक which denote the doer of an action, such as वृत्रहन्ता and तद्रमक. Nevertheless such compounds are sometimes used by learned men, and compounds of the former class, namely, those that end in तृच्, are defended by the author of the Nyāsa by drawing a ज्ञापक or inference from the words of Pāṇini. Bhāmaha assures us that the Nyāśakāra's ज्ञापक or inference is positively wrong, that he is not a safe guide in this matter, and that compounds such as वृत्रहन्ता and तद्रमक are equally erroneous and should not be employed by those who aspire to literary fame.

Let us now proceed to inquire who is this Nyāśakāra and what is the ज्ञापक or inference that he has deduced from Pāṇini's Sūtra II, 2, 15. There are two grammatical works called Nyāsa. Sāyana¹ in his Dhātuvṛtti clearly distinguishes between Bodhi-Nyāsa and Śakaṭāyana-Nyāsa. Sāyana's reference to Śakaṭāyana-Nyāsa seems to confirm the tradition which is current among the Jaina community in Southern India that Prabhācandra, the author of the Prameyaka-mahamartandha, wrote a commentary called Nyāsa on the Amoghavṛtti, itself a commentary on Śakaṭāyana's sūtras. We are told in an anonymous verse

विख्यातं भुवि सुप्रमेयकमल प्रख्यातं मार्तण्डकं
संख्यायादिषु मध्यमं च कुमुदं न्यायं च चन्द्रोदयं
तर्कं चारुसपादलक्षमितकं न्यासं च षट्सूत्रकं
श्रीदेशीयगणाधिपो मुनिवरस्तेन प्रभाचंद्रमाः ॥

¹ Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti. Vol. I, Part I, Intr. p. 19 (Mysore Ed.)

The meaning of this verse is that Prabhāchandra wrote three works entitled *Prameyakamalamārtanḍa*, *Nyāyakumudachandrodaya* and *Nyāsa*. In a stone inscription in Mysore, of about 1530 A.D.* he is thus referred to as the author of the *Nyāyakumudachandrodaya* and the *Nyāsa* on the sūtras of *Sākaṭāyana* :—

..... न्यायकुमुदचन्द्रोदयकृते नमः ।

शाकटायनकृतसूत्रन्यासकर्त्रे वर्तीदवे ॥

Epi. Carna. Vol. VIII, p. 268.

Prabhāchandra was the pupil of Akalaṅkadeva, who, according to Brahmanemidatta, was contemporary with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishnarāja I. Brahmanemidatta's opinion on this point is confirmed by an inscription at Śravaṇa Belgol in which Akalaṅkadeva is made to address king Sāhasatuṅga. Now we know that Sāhasatuṅga was a title of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga.¹ Akalaṅkadeva, therefore, was contemporary with Dantidurga and with his uncle and successor Krishnarāja I. Prabhāchandra, who was the pupil of Akalaṅkadeva, belongs to the end of the eighth century A.D. And his *Nyāsa* cannot be the work referred to by Bhāmaha, as the latter's work is commented upon by Bhaṭṭoḍbhāṭa, a contemporary of Jayāpīḍa, king of Kashmir (779—813 A. D.)

The other and more well-known *Nyāsa* which is so frequently quoted in Sanskrit literature is a commentary on the *Kāśikāvr̥tti* by a Buddhist writer named Jinendrabuddhi. There is a palm-leaf manuscript of this interesting Buddhist *Nyāsa* in the Jaina maṭha at Śravaṇ Belgol in Mysore. It begins thus :

श्री पंचगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ अविघ्नमस्तु ॥ जयन्ति ते सदा संतः सत्प्रिया यैरुपा-
जितं ॥ गुणानां सुमहद् वृंदं दोषाणां च विवर्जितं ॥ अन्यत त्सा (स्सा) रमाकृष्य
कृतैषा काशिका यथा । वृत्तरस्या यथाशक्ति क्रियते पंचि (जि) का मया (तथा) ॥
वृत्तावित्यादि । अथ किमर्थः काशिकारभेस्य श्लोकस्थोपन्यासः ।

At leaf 129 a, line 6, we read इत्याचार्य्य जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि (दि) विरचितायां काशि-
काविवरणपंचि (जि) काया तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयपादः ॥०॥०००॥

In some other manuscripts of this work the author is spoken of as बोधिसत्त्वदेशीयाचार्य जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि, स्थविराचार्य जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि or स्थविरजिनेन्द्र; and the work is spoken of as काशिका विवरणपञ्जिका, काशिकान्यास, न्यासपञ्जिका or न्यास. It will be very interesting to inquire whether this work contains the *śāpaka* or inference which has called forth the censure conveyed by Bhāmaha in the verses quoted above. It is necessary to mention here the fact that the authors of the *Kāśikāvr̥tti* interpret Pāṇini

* Madras Archaeological Report, 19th July 1905, p. 57.

very frequently in a different way from that which is accepted by the orthodox school of grammarians who look up to Patañjali as their safest guide. And we have already seen that Bhāmaha also regards Patañjali as the best interpreter of Pāṇini. In order, therefore, to enable Sanskrit scholars to understand the position taken up by Bhāmaha, I shall quote below Pāṇini's sūtras, the Kāśikāvr̥tti and Jinendrabuddhi's gloss thereon.

तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि Pāṇini II, 2, 15.

कर्तृ ग्रहणं षष्ठीविशेषणम् । कर्तरि या षष्ठी सा तृचाऽकेन च सह न समस्यते । भवतः शायिका । भवत आसिका । भवतो ऽग्र गामिका । तृच् कर्तर्येव विधीयते तत्प्रयोगे कर्तरि षष्ठी नास्ति । तस्मात्तृजग्रहणमुत्तरार्थम् । कर्तरीति किम् । इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि ॥

कर्तरि च Pāṇini II, 2, 16.

कर्तरि च यौ तृजकौ ताभ्यां सह षष्ठी न समस्यते । सामर्थ्यादकस्य विशेषणार्थं कर्तृग्रहणमितरत्र व्यभिचाराभावात् । अपां स्रष्टा । पुरां भेत्ता । वज्रस्य भर्ता । ननुच भर्तृ शब्दो ह्ययं याजकादिषु पठ्यते । संबन्धिशब्दस्य पतिपर्यायस्य तत्र ग्रहणम् । अकः खल्वपि ओदनस्य भोजकः । सक्तूनां पायकः ॥

Kāśikāvr̥tti, Benares Ed., Part I., p. 129.

तृजकाभ्यां ॥ भवतः शायिकेत्यादौ पर्यायाहर्णोत्पत्तिषु ण्वुच् ॥ भवत इति कर्तृकर्मणोः कृतीति कर्तरि षष्ठी । तत्प्रयोगे कर्तरि षष्ठी नास्तीति ॥ तेनैव कर्तुरभिहितत्वात् । किमर्थं तर्हि तृचो ग्रहणमित्याह । तस्मादित्यादि ॥ इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसीति पूर्ववत् ण्वुच् ॥ अत्रेक्षुशब्दात् कृद्योगे कर्मणि षष्ठी ॥ मे इति कर्तरि कृद्योग इत्युभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणीत्येतदत्र न प्रवर्तते ॥ अकांकारयोः प्रतिषेधवचनात् ॥

कर्तरिच ॥ इतरत्र व्यभिचाराभावादिति तृचि ॥ एतच्च सामर्थ्यादकस्य विशेषणं कर्तरि ग्रहणमित्यस्य हेतुः[॥] संभवे व्यभिचारे च सति विशेषणविशेष्यभावा भवति ॥ न च तृच् कर्तरि व्यभिचरति तस्य कर्तर्येव विधानात् ॥ अकस्तु व्यभिचरति ॥ तस्य भावेपि विधानात् ॥ अतः सामर्थ्यादकस्यैव कर्तृग्रहणं विशेषणं न तृचः ॥ अपांस्रष्टेति अपामिति कर्मणि षष्ठी । स्रष्टेति ॥ ब्रश्वादिस्त्रेण षत्वं ॥ स्रष्टृशब्दोऽस्यमकित्तीत्यमागमः ॥ ननु चेत्यादि ॥ याजकादिपाठाद्भवितव्यमेवात्र समासेनेत्यभिप्रायः ॥ संबन्धिशब्देत्यादिना परिहारः ॥ होतृशब्देन संबन्धिशब्देन साहचर्याद्भर्तृशब्दोऽपि संबन्धिशब्दस्तत्र गृह्यते ॥ अयं तु क्रियाशब्दः विभर्तीति भर्ता ॥ सक्तूनां पायक इति ॥ आतो युक् चिष्कृतोरिति युक् ॥

अथ किमर्थं तृचः सानुबन्धकस्योच्चारणं ॥ तुनो निवृत्त्यर्थं ॥ नैतदस्ति ॥ तद्योगे
न लोकाव्ययेत्यादिना षष्ठीप्रतिषेधात् ॥ एवं तर्ह्येतदेव ज्ञापकं भवति तृणामपि
क्वचित् षष्ठी भवतीति ॥ तेन भीष्मः कुरूणां भयशोकहन्तैस्तेष्वमादि सिद्धं भवति ॥

काशिकाविवरणपञ्जिका.

Deccan College Ms. No. 33 of 1881-82, leaves 31b and 32a.

No. 284 of 1875-76, leaves 156b and 157a.

In these extracts only the last portion is most important for our present purpose. Here the Nyāsakāra Jinendrabuddhi draws 'the jñāpak alluded to above. He says that Pāṇini employs तृच् in order to exclude तृन् from the operation of his sūtra II, 2, 15 and that a genitive compound with तृच् can be formed. But it may be objected that the use of the genitive with तृच् is prohibited according to the sūtra न लोक II, 3, 69. It is urged in reply that the employment of तृच् by Pāṇini is a ज्ञापक and indicates that the sūtra न लोक may be sometimes disregarded, that the genitive case may be used with तृन् and that a genitive compound with तृन् like भयशोकहन्ता can be safely formed. This method of drawing inferences from Pāṇini's words has not been approved by subsequent writers; Siradeva very properly remarks :—

ज्ञापकं नाम न वाधकमपितु निमित्तेन सूचकं तच्च कचिदेवेष्टसिद्धौ व्याप्रियते
न सर्वत्रेति युज्यते ज्ञापकसिद्धं न सर्वत्रेति ।

परिभाषावृत्ति Benares Ed., p. 188.

It is not, of course, denied that compounds of the class prohibited by Pāṇini are sometimes met with in classical Sanskrit literature. And Pāṇini himself has been charged with inconsistency in this respect by Kumārila who says :—

सूत्रे तावज्जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिरित्यत्र हि द्वावपशब्दौ जनिशब्देन द्विविधतपौ धातुनि-
वेश इत्यनेन लक्षणेनान्वितो धातुरेव निर्दिश्यते । न च जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिरित्यत्र हि
कर्तुः प्रकृतेरपादानसंश्लेष्यते । जायमानस्य पुनरर्थस्य जनिशब्दो वाचकतया नैव
लक्षणेनानुगतः । तेनायं दरिद्र इवाश्वशब्दो जनिमात्रवाचित्वात्तदर्थं प्रत्यसाधुरेव
विज्ञायते । तथा तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि चेति प्रतिषिद्धषष्ठीसमासप्रयोगाद्व्याकरण-
फलपरित्यागः । एवं तत्प्रयोजक इति प्रतिषिद्ध एव समासः

Tantravārtika, Benares Ed., p. 201.

Jayāditya explains and defends the compound तत्प्रयोजक thus :—

तस्य प्रयोजकः तत्प्रयोजकः । निपातनात्समासः

Kāśikā, Benares Ed., part I. p. 91.

Kumārila thus replies to this argument :

न चैषां निपातनैः साधुत्वसिद्धिः । कुतः ॥
 येषामनुगमो नास्ति ते सिध्येयुर्निपातनैः ।
 अन्यथानुगतानां तु प्रयोगं बाधते स्मृतिः ॥
 स्मृत्याचारविरोधे हि स्मृतिरेव बलीयसी ।
 प्रत्यक्षप्रतिषेधाच्च अनिकर्त्तव्यसाधुता ॥

‘प्रत्यक्षस्मृतिविरोधे तु लक्षणरहितस्यापि प्रयोगादेव शिष्टाचारभूतादवयवानु-
 गमस्मृतिमनुमाय निपातनात्साधुत्वासिद्धिः । न च लक्षणशब्दानां स्वात्मनि क्रिया-
 विरोधादात्मार्थत्वाभावाद्वा लक्षणानुगतिरनादरणीया ॥

Tantravārtika, Benares Ed., p. 202.

Jayāditya's commentator Haradatta admits the force of Kumārila's objection and thus deserts his author :—

यज्जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिस्तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्चेत्यादावुच्यते निपातनात्समास इति तदनु-
 पपन्नं शेषषष्ठ्या एव समासस्य सिद्धत्वात्.

Padamanjari, Benares Ed., part I, p. 398.

But Haradatta holds Kumārila to be wrong in saying that जनि ends in इकः —

जनिशब्दोयमिञ्जा (जजा) दिभ्य इति जनेर्भावाद् इयमुत्पाद्य व्युत्पादितः जनि-
 वध्योश्चेति वृद्धिप्रतिषेधः । अन्यर्थवाची न त्विक्स्थितौ धातुनिर्देश इति इक्प्रत्ययान्तः ।
 गमहनेत्युपधाया लोपप्रसङ्गात् ।

Padamanjari, Benares Ed., part I, p. 288.

This great controversy between the grammarians and Kumārila is alluded to by the author of the Tattvabodhini :—

एतेन इक्स्थितौ धातुनिर्देशे इति इका निर्देशोयं जनिरित्याश्रित्य गमहन इत्यु-
 पधालोपमर्थासंगतिं समासानुपपत्तिं चोद्भाव्य व्याकरणाधिकरणे गर्जन्तो मीमांसकाः
 समाहिता इति भावः ॥

Tattvabodhini, Nirṇayasāgara Press, 2nd Ed., p. 144.

To return to the Nyāsaśāstra Jinendrabuddhi. His method of dealing with Pāṇini's two prohibitive sūtras which have been discussed above is so revolutionary as to render them absolutely inoperative. This is the chief reason why the Nyāsaśāstra's शापक has not been accepted by subsequent writers though it is known to them.

Jñānendrasarasvatī says :

न्यासकारस्तु तृप्तन्तमेवम् । न लोका इति निषेध स्तनित्यः । त्रकाभ्यामिति ऋग्वे
तृचः सानुबन्धग्रहणाज्ज्ञापकादित्याह ।

तत्त्वबोधिनी Nirṇayasāgara Press, 2nd Ed., p. 166

A careful study of the passages that I have cited above will not fail to convince Sanskrit scholars that Bhāmaha condemns the Nyāsakāra Jinendrabuddhi for drawing this peculiar ज्ञापक from Pāṇini's sūtra, that this ज्ञापक is actually found in Jinendrabuddhi's work called Kāśikāvivaraṇa pañjikā, Kāśikānyāsa or Nyāsa and that this ज्ञापक is attributed to the Nyāsakāra by Jñānendrasarasvatī, the author of the Tattvabodhini. And it is also worth noting that the three manuscripts of the second chapter of the Nyāsa, which are now accessible to me, contain the Nyāsakāra's ज्ञापक. These three manuscripts belong to different and distant parts of India. The first is a palm-leaf manuscript in the Jaina Maṭha at Śravaṇ Belgol in Mysore and is written in old Canarese characters. The second is written in Nāgarī characters and bears date in Samvat 1682. It comes from Northern India. The third manuscript comes from Kashmir and is written in Śāradā characters. The first two are Jaina manuscripts belonging respectively to the Digambara and Svetāmbara sects, while the third is a Brahminical one. These facts leave no room for doubt as to the genuineness of the passage containing the Nyāsakāra's ज्ञापक.

It is a well-known fact that the Kāśikāvyākṛti was the joint production of Vāmana and Jayāditya. And it is equally well-known that the section of the Kāśikā dealing with Pāṇini's sūtra, from which the Nyāsakāra draws his ज्ञापक was composed by Jayāditya, and this fact is thus attested by Haradatta, and Jñānendrasarasvatī :—

तृच् क्रीडाजीविकयो नास्तीति । वामनस्त्वके जीविकार्थं इत्यत्राक इति किं
रमणीयकर्तेति जीविकायां तृचं प्रत्युदाहरिष्यति स मन्यते माभूत्क्रीडायां तृच् लक्षणा
भावात् जीविकायां तु ण्वुलृच्चाविति ण्वुलिव तृच् कस्मान्न स्यादिति

Padamanjari, Benares Ed , part I, p. 399.

तृच् क्रीडाजीविकयोर्नास्तीति जयादित्येनोक्तत्वादिति भावः । वामनस्तु 'अके
जीविकार्थे' इत्यत्र 'अक इति किम् । रमणीयकर्ता' इति प्रत्युदाहरन जीविकायां
तृचमिच्छति ।

Tattvabodhini, Nirṇayasāgara Press, 2nd Ed., p. 167.

According to I-tsing Jayāditya died in A. D. 661-662.

Jayāditya, 661 A. D.

Jinendrabuddhi, 700 A. D.

Bhāmaha, 750 A. D.

Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, contemporary with Jayāpīḍa, 779-813 A.D.

From the foregoing table it is clear that both Jinendrabuddhi and his critic Bhāmaha flourished between 661 and 813 A. D. We shall therefore be not far wrong if we assign the Nyāsakāra to the end of the seventh century and Bhāmaha to the middle of the eighth century.

We have already seen how Kumārila objects to Jayāditya's explanation निपातनात् समासः of Pāṇini's compound तत्प्रयोजक. The Mīmāṃsaka's objection is noticed by Haradatta while the Nyāsakāra is silent on this point. Jinendrabuddhi only remarks :—

ननु च कर्तरिचेति षष्ठीसमासप्रतिषेधेन भवितव्यमित्यत आह निपातनात्समास इति

His silence is highly significant and can be easily accounted for by the fact that he lived at the end of the seventh century while the illustrious Mīmāṃsaka flourished about 750 A. D. The other commentator Haradatta, who quotes¹ Kumārila and frequently refers to the Bhāṭṭamata, may be very naturally presumed to be later than the Nyāsakāra. It will therefore be very interesting to inquire whether the author of the Padamañjarī refers to Jinendrabuddhi. This question can be easily answered by a comparison of the following passages.

(a) वज्रस्य भर्ता । ननु च भर्तृशब्दो ह्ययं याजकादिषु पठ्यते । संबन्धि-
पतिपर्यायस्य तत्र ग्रहणम् । KĀSIKĀ.

The Nyāsakāra explains :—

ननु चेत्यादि । याजकादिपाठाद्भवितव्यमेवात्र समासेनेत्यभिप्रायः । संबन्धि-
शब्देत्यादिना परिहारः । होतृशब्देन संबन्धि-शब्देन साहचर्याद्भर्तृशब्दोपि संबन्धि-
शब्दस्तत्र गृह्यते । अयंतु क्रियाशब्दः विभर्तीति भर्ता ।

Haradatta remarks :—

संबन्धि-शब्दस्येति । अवयव प्रसिद्धेः समुदायप्रसिद्धिर्बलीयसीति भावः । अन्य-
स्त्वाह । होतृशब्दसाहचर्यादिति तत्र । नहि तत्र बहुवचो होता गृह्यते स एव
संबन्धि-शब्दः क्षीरहोतेत्यादौ क्षीरस्य क्षेतेत्येव गम्यते ।

Padamañjarī, Benares Ed., part I, p. 399.

¹ Padamañjarī, Part II, p. 499 ; Part I, p. 393. Pandita Vol. III, p. 584.

Remarks.

In the याजकादि group the words ह्यत् and भर्तृ are mentioned together. The Nyāsaśakāra says that here the word ह्यत् meaning a sacrificial priest is a relative term and the other word भर्तृ must also be taken to be a relative term meaning "husband" according to the maxim सहचरितासहचरितयोः सहचरितस्यैव ग्रहणम्. Haradatta, on the other hand, contends that this explanation is positively wrong and remarks that the word ह्यत् in the group is not a relative term but is simply a verbal derivative meaning "thrower" and the compound क्षीरह्यता means a thrower of milk but the other word भर्तृ in the same group must be taken by itself to be a relative term meaning "husband" according to the maxim अवयवप्रसिद्धे समुदाय प्रसिद्धिर्बलीयसी. This refutation of the Nyāsa places beyond dispute the priority of Jinendrabuddhi to Haradatta.

तस्मै हितम् V, 1, 5.

(b) Nyāsaśakāra : एतदेव ज्ञापक हितयोगे चतुर्थ्यस्तीति

D. C. Ms. No. 34 of 1881-82, leaf 262b.

Haradatta: तस्मा इति हितयोगे चतुर्थी वक्तव्येति चतुर्थी । अपर आह ।

अयमेव निर्देशो ज्ञापको हितयोगे चतुर्थी भवतीत्यस्येति तच्चिन्त्यम् ।

Padamanjari Part II, p. 230.

Here Haradatta says that the Nyāsaśakāra's ज्ञापक is open to dispute,

जनिकर्तु प्रकृति I. 4, 30.

(c) जनेः कर्त्ता जनिकर्त्ता । जन्यर्थस्य जन्मनः कर्त्ता जायमानः तस्य या प्रकृतिः कारणं हेतुः तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति । शृङ्गाच्छरो जायते । गोमया-
दृक्षिको जायते ।

Kāśikā I, p. 84. Benares Ed.

जनि जनिशब्दोऽत्र साहचर्याजन्यर्थे वर्त्तते अत एवाह ॥ जन्यर्थस्येति जन्मन इत्यनेन जन्यर्थं दर्शयति तथाहि जनी प्रादुर्भाव इति पठ्यते प्रादुर्भावश्च जन्मैव कः पुनः कर्त्तव्याह ॥ जायमान इति जायत इति ज्ञाजोर्जा इति जादेशः ॥ अथ प्रकृतिग्रहणं किमर्थं यावता ध्रुवमिति वर्त्तते ध्रुवश्चावधिः । जनिकर्त्तुश्चावधिः कारणमेव भवति । तत्रांतरेणापि प्रकृतिग्रहणं प्रकृतेरेव भविष्यति । नैतदस्ति । पुत्रा-
त्ममोक्षो जायते इत्यादौ पुत्रादेरपादानत्वं यथा स्यादित्येवमर्थं प्रकृतिग्रहणं द्विविधं

हि कारणं । सहकारि कारणमुपादानकारणं च । तत्र यत् कार्येणामिन्नदेशं तदु-
पादानकारणं तद्यथा ॥ घटस्य मृत्पिण्डः ॥ सहकारिकारणं यत् कार्येण मिन्नदेशं
तद्यथा तस्यैव चक्रदंडादि । तत्र ह्यसति प्रकृतिग्रहणे प्रत्यासत्तेरुपादानकारणस्यैव
स्याभेतरस्य ॥ प्रकृतिग्रहणात्सर्वस्य कारणमात्रस्य भवति ।

Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā, Deccan College Ms. No. 34

of 1881-82 ; leaf 82 (b).

प्रकृतिरित्यस्य विवरण कारणमिति । उपादानकारणमित्यर्थः । अन्ये तु ध्रुवग्रह-
णानुवृत्तेरेव प्रकृतिपरिग्रहे सिद्धे प्रकृतिग्रहणं कारणमात्रपरिग्रहार्थं वर्णयन्ति अत
एव वृत्तावुक्तं कारणमिति न पुनरुपादानकारणमिति तेन च पुत्रात्प्रमोदो जायत
इत्यादावपि भवतीति ।

Padamañjarī, Benares Ed., Part I, pp. 288, 289.

From the last passage it is clear that Haradatta, after giving his explanation of the word कारण, summarises the opinion of Jinendra-
buddhi on this point as nearly as possible in the latter's own words.

(d) यदा तु जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिरित्येतत्कृतमपादानत्वं विवक्ष्यते तदा
यवाग्वाः पंचम्येव भवति मूत्रं संपद्यते यवाग्वा इति ।

Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā D. C. Ms. No. 33 of 1881-82, leaf 45 a.

यदा तु जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिरित्युपादानत्वं विवक्ष्यते तदा विकाराच्चतुर्थी न भवतीति
केचिदाहुः मूत्रं संपद्यते यवाग्वा इति ।

Padamañjarī, Benares Edition, Part I, p. 425.

In the last passage Haradatta refers to his predecessor Jinendra-
buddhi by the words केचिदाहुः "some authors say."

(e) वरतन्विति

अयि विजर्हाह् दृढोपगूहनं
त्यज नवसगमभा(भी)रुवह्मं
अरुणकरोद्गम एष वर्तते
वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुकुटाः ॥

वरतनू शब्दस्याम्बार्थेत्यादिना ऋस्वः ऋस्ववचनसामर्थ्याच्च ऋस्वस्य गुण इति
सबुद्धौ गुणो न भवति ।

Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā D. C. Ms. No. 34 of 1881-82, leaf 70 (a).

वरतनु सम्प्रवदन्ति कुकुटा इति
अपनय पादसरोजमङ्गतः
शिथिलय बाहुकतां गलादृतां
कच वदनेशुकमाकुलीकृतम्

पूर्वपादाः क्वचित् कृत्स्न एव श्लोकः पठ्यते तत्र वर-
तनुरिति बहुव्रीहौ यदि नृस्वान्तस्तनुशब्दः ततः संबुद्धौचेति गुणप्रसङ्गः दीर्घान्ते तु
नदीलक्षणः कप् प्राप्नोति केचिदाहुः तनुशब्दः स्त्रीजातौ कविभिः प्रयुज्यते तस्माद्
ऊङुत् इति ऊङि कृते कर्मधारयोयमिति ।

Padamañjari, Benares Ed., Part I, p. 239.

Here Haradatta is unable to account for the expression वरतनु and is therefore content to place before us the solution of the difficulty proposed by his predecessor Jinendrabuddhi.

It is therefore quite obvious that the Nyāsa was one of those commentaries on the Kāśikā, which were already in existence when Haradatta began to compose his Padamañjari. He admits this fact when he says :—

अविचारितरमणीयं काम व्याख्याशतं भवतु वृत्तेः ।

हृदयंगमा भविष्यति गुणप्राप्त्याणामियं व्याख्या ॥

On the other hand Jinendrabuddhi, who lived shortly after Jayāditya, cannot be understood to say, in the following verse, that the Nyāsa was preceded by many commentators on the Kāśikā :—

अन्यतः सारमाकृष्य कृतैषाः काशिका यथा ।

वृत्तिरस्या यथाशक्ति क्रियते पञ्जिका तथा ॥

TRANSLATION.

Just as this Kāśikā was composed by drawing the best kind of material from other authorities, so its commentary, Pañjikā, will be composed in a similar way.

The expression "in a similar way" means by drawing its material from "other authorities." And we know as a fact that one of these authorities is Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya which is frequently referred to by Jinendrabuddhi but which is not a commentary on the Kāśikā. Sanskrit scholars will thus see that there is nothing in this verse to show that the other authorities were commentaries on the Kāśikā and were composed between 661—700 A.D. Dr. Kielhorn's fourth statement must therefore be rejected. And it may also be hoped that the charge brought against the Nyāsa-kāra that he copied from Haradatta has been amply refuted by the passages cited above. It is also interesting to note that the priority of Jinendrabuddhi to Haradatta was a fact well-known to Śāyana who says :

हरदत्तस्तु न्यासमतमुक्त्वा "यद्येवं माषेष्वाश्च बभ्रार्तास्तत्र कर्मणोप्यश्वस्य वस्तुतो
बभ्रक्षणे स्वातन्त्र्यं तदाश्रया कर्मसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति तस्मात्कर्मकर्तृयंत्र लकार इति ।

Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti, Benares Ed., Part II, p. 115.

Sāyaṇa's view that Haradatta quotes from the Nyāsakāra can be easily verified, if we compare the following passages :—

कर्मसंज्ञायां हि कर्तृग्रहणं स्वातन्त्र्योपलक्षणं
तत्रापादानस्यापि सतः सार्थस्य हानक्रियायां यत्स्वातन्त्र्यं तत्क्रियाविवक्षै (क्षयै) व
देवदत्तस्य कर्मसंज्ञा भवति.

Kāśikā-vivaraṇapāñjikā, D. C. Ms. No. 34 of 1881-82, leaf 302 a.

स्वातन्त्र्योपलक्षणं च कर्मसंज्ञायां कर्तृग्रहणं कर्तृसंज्ञा भवतु मा वा भूत, एवं
चापादानस्यापि सतः सार्थस्य हाने यत्स्वातन्त्र्यं वास्तव तदाश्रया कर्मसंज्ञा भवति, यद्येवं
माषेष्वथं भ्रातीत्यत्र कर्मणोप्यश्वस्य वस्तुतो यद्भक्षणे स्वातन्त्र्यं तदाश्रया माषाणां
कर्मसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति तस्मात्कर्मकर्तर्यत्र लकारः ।

Padamañjarī, Benares Ed., Part II, p. 386.

Having proved the approximate dates of the Nyāsakāra and Bhāmaha we shall next proceed to determine the date of the Śīsupālavadha. Māgha assures us that he had studied Pāṇini's grammar :—

निपातितसुहृत्स्वामिपितृव्यभ्रातृमातुलम् ।
पाणिनायमिबालोकि धीरैस्तत्समराजिरम् ॥

Śīsupālavadha XIX, 75.

In the two following verses Māgha shows his acquaintance with some of the reasons for the study of grammar which are enumerated by Patañjali and alluded to by the Nyāsakāra in his Introduction.

नाञ्जसा निगदितुं विभक्तिभिर्व्यक्तिभिश्च निखिलाभिरागमे ।
तत्र कर्मणि विपर्ययीनमन्मन्त्रमूहकुशलाः प्रयोगिणः ॥ २३
संज्ञायाम् दधतोः सरूपतां दूरभिन्नफलयोः क्रियां प्रति ।
शब्दशासनविदः समासयोर्विग्रहं व्यवससुः खरेण ते ॥ २४

Śīsupālavadha XIV.

In the following verse Māgha copies the Nyāsakāra's definition of paribhāṣhā परितो व्यापृता भाषा परिभाषा, परिभाषा त्वेकदेशस्थापि सर्वत्र शास्त्रे
भ्या मियते. (II, 1.1.)

परितः प्रमिताक्षरापि सर्वं विषयं प्राप्तवती गता प्रतिष्ठाम् ।
न खलु प्रतिहन्यते कुतश्चित्परिभाषेव गरीयसी यदाज्ञा ॥

Śīsupālavadha XVI, 80.

Māgha was perfectly conversant with the alankāra literature of his time: He says :

स्वादयन् रसमनेकसंस्कृतप्राकृतैरकृतपात्रसंकरैः ।

भावशुद्धिसहितैर्मृदं जनो नाटकैरिव बभार भोजनैः ॥

Si. XIV, 50.

विषमं सर्वतोभद्रचक्रगोमुत्रिकादिभिः ।

श्लोकैरिव महाकाव्यं व्यूहैस्तदभवद्वलम्

Śi. XIX, 41.

दधतस्तनिमानमानुपूर्व्याबभुरक्षिप्रवसो मुखे विशालाः ।

भरतज्ञकाविप्रणीतकाव्यप्रथिताङ्गा इव नाटकप्रपञ्चाः ॥

Śi. XX, 44.

नालम्बते दैष्टिकतां न निषीदति पौरुषे ।

शब्दार्थौ सत्कविरिव द्वयं विद्वानपेक्षतः ॥

Śi. I, 86.

In the last verse Māgha clearly alludes to Bhāmaha's definition of poetry —

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यं गद्यं पद्यं च तद्विधा ॥ I, 16.

Since Māgha quotes the views of Jinendrabuddhi and Bhāmaha, we may safely assign the author of the Śiśupālavadha to the close of the eighth century. And the view of Vallabha and Mallinātha that Māgha (II, 112) alludes to the Nyāsa may now be accepted.

ART. IV.—*Sivāditya's Saptapadārthī*.

BY PROFESSOR V. S. GHATE, M. A.

(Communicated).

Sivāditya's Saptapadārthī is a short manual of the Nyāya Śāstra, like *Tarkasangraha*, *Tarkabhāṣā*, *Tarkāmṛta*, *Bhāṣāparichchheda*, *Tarkakaumudī*, and others. It strictly follows the *Vaiśeṣika* system of Kaṇāda as opposed to the Nyāya system of Gautama, inasmuch as it deals with the seven padārthas instead of sixteen and has only two kinds of Pramās, *viz.*, *Pratyakshapramā* and *Anumiti* and two Pramāṇas corresponding to them, *viz.*, *Pratyakshapramāṇa* and *Anumāna*, instead of four. No traces of an attempt to reconcile both the systems are seen in *Saptapadārthī* and comparatively a very short space is devoted to the treatment of *Anumāna* (inference) and the *Hetvābhāṣas* (fallacies). Owing to this last circumstance, we are inclined to regard the manual as very old compared with *Tarkasangraha* and others, since the temptation to deal with *Hetvābhāṣas* and other kindred topics at length would have been very difficult to be resisted by a later writer. This argument, though not very strong by itself, is only confirmed by the following discussion regarding the date of the work and its author.

Unfortunately the manual provides us with no internal proof whatsoever which would enable us to determine its age, even with approximate certainty, since it strictly follows the principle of naming and defining the several padārthas in order and their sub-varieties, allowing no space for illustrations containing the names of some known persons* or other occasional dissertations. Under these circumstances, we have to rely solely on external evidence in the form of allusions to our manual in other works.

To begin with, there are three known commentaries on *Saptapadārthī*: (1) *Mitabhāṣinī* by Mādhava-Sarasvatī; (2) a commentary by Jinavardhanasūri; and (3) *Padārthachandrikā* by Śeṣhānanta, which is itself commented upon by Nṛsiṃhāchārya in *Padārthachandrikā-prakāśa*.

There are also other commentaries on the work, *e.g.*, one by Bhāvavideśvara¹; another named *Śiśubodhinī* by Bhairavānanda and so on; but I could not have access to them.

* *e.g.* in *Tarkasangraha-dīpikā*, we have 'काञ्च्यो विभुवनतिलको भूपतिरासीत्.'

¹ Dr. Bhandarkar's report for 1883-84 p. 6. and 312

Of the three mentioned above, a Ms. of Mitabhāṣiṇī in the Vizayanagar Library has at its end a verse beginning with 'Bāpābhinīndra-miteśāke, etc.'² Thus the Ms. was written in 1445 Śaka, corresponding to 1523 A.D. Thus Mādhavasarasvatī must have lived some time before this year; and Śivāditya must be still earlier.

The Deccan College collection contains a Ms. of the commentary by Jinavardhanasūri, the colophon at the end of which runs thus :— 'इति श्रीखरतरगच्छे श्रीजिनराजसूरिपट्टे श्रीजिनवर्द्धनसूरिविरचिता सप्तपदार्थी टीकासमाप्ता...'. This Jinavardhanasūri, the successor of Jinarājasūri belonging to the Kharataragachchha, was high priest of the sect from 1405 A.D. to 1419 A.D., when he was deposed on account of his having transgressed one of the vows.⁴ This is also confirmed by the fact that a Ms. of Udayana's Tātparya-parīśuddhi belonging to our collection, has at its end the remark in a modern handwriting 'संवत् १४७१ वर्षे । श्रीखरतरगच्छे श्रीजिनराजसूरिपट्टे श्रीजिनवर्द्धनसूरीणां पुस्तकम् ॥'⁵ and Samvat 1471 corresponds to 1414 A.D. Thus Śivāditya's work must have been written before 1400 A.D.

Śivāditya is also referred to by Gangesopādhyāya in his Tatvachintāmaṇi, who refutes his doctrines and quotes his very name⁶ as 'इति शिवोदित्यमिश्रा'. Thus Śivāditya must be earlier than Gangesopādhyāya. The latter, however, must be placed about the 11th century A.D. For a Ms. of Tatvachintāmaṇyāloka, a commentary by Jayadeva on the Tatvachintāmaṇi is found transcribed in 159 Lakshmanasena Samvat, i.e., in 1189 Śaka or 1267 A.D.⁷ And Udayanāchārya is frequently referred to by Gangesopādhyāya, e.g., on p. 284 in the Śabda Khaṇḍa of the Tatvachintāmaṇi, where he says 'आचार्यास्तु प्रवर्तकमिदृसाधनताज्ञानमेव,' etc., and the commentator explains 'आचार्याः उदयनाचार्या'. So also, in his Īśvarānumāna, Gangesā seems to follow closely the train of reasoning in Kusumāñjali⁸. Thus Gangesā must be placed after Udayana and before Jayadeva. Now Udayana's Lakṣhaṇāvalī ends with the verse

'तकम्बिराङ्गप्रमितेष्वतीतेषु शकान्ततः ।
वर्षेषूदयनश्चके सुबोधो लक्षणावलीम् ।'

² The full verse runs thus : 'बाणाब्धीन्द्रमिते शाके सुभासौ वत्सरे ऊजे । सहस्रासितसप्तम्यां पुस्तं लक्ष्मीधरोऽलिखत् ॥'—Ramashashtri Telang's Introduction to SaptapadArthi.

³ Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, p. 25.

⁴ Ind. Antiq. Vol. XI., p. 749.

⁵ Dr. Kielborn's Report for 1880-81, p. 19.

⁶ Tatvachintāmaṇi, Pratyakṣakhaṇḍa, p. 830, Bibliotheca Indica series.

⁷ Chandrakānta's Introduction to the Kusumāñjali of Udayana; also the Introduction to the Vaiśeṣikadarśana in the Bibliotheca Indica series.

⁸ Chandrakānta's Introduction to Kusumāñjali.

Thus Lakṣhaṇāvalī was written in 906 Śaka, corresponding to 984 A.D.⁹ So that Gaṅgeśopādhyāya very probably belongs to the 11th century A.D.; and Śivāditya must precede him.

Śrīharsha in his Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā has “ तेषु तावत् ‘तत्त्वानुभूतिः प्रमा’ इत्यप्ययुक्तै, etc.,” on which the commentator Śāṅkaramiśra remarks “न्यायाचार्यकृतलक्षणमालाग्रन्थे प्राथमिकं प्रमालक्षणं खण्डयितुमुपक्रमते तत्त्वानुभूतिरिति, etc.” Now this Nyāyāchārya is none but Śivāditya to whom another work named Lakṣhaṇamālā is attributed.¹⁰

Now the author of Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā is supposed either to be a contemporary of Udayanāchārya¹¹ or to have followed him immediately.

Thus Śivāditya must have preceded Śrīharsha; at the same time I am inclined to think that most probably he did not precede Udayana. For—

1st, the Lakṣhaṇāvalī of Udayana is a work similar to Saptapadārthī. Now the former divides Padārthas into two, bhāva (positive) and abhāva (negative); and the positive categories, further into six. While the latter has seven padārthas to begin with, without a reference to the twofold division of bhāva and abhāva. And the Sūtras of Kaṇāda contain only six Padārthas excluding abhāva. Now the division followed in Lakṣhaṇāvalī seems to be a stage of transition from the six Padārthas of the Sūtras to the seven Padārthas of Saptapadārthī, whose very title lays stress on the sevenfold division of Padārthas.

2ndly.—Śivāditya is also supposed to be an author of a commentary (Vṛitti) on Praśastapāda's Bhāṣhya. For Rājaśekhara in his Panjikā, a commentary on the Nyāyakandali of Śrīdhara, says in the very beginning that there are four Vṛittis on the Bhāṣhya of Praśastapāda¹².—(1) Vyomavatī by Vyomaśivāchārya, (2) Nyāyakandali by Śrīdhara, (3) Kiraṇāvalī by Udayana, and (4) Līlāvatī by Śrīvatsāchārya. Now this Vyomaśivāchārya mentioned by Rājaśekhara may be regarded as no other person than Śivāditya, the author of Saptapadārthī, if we can at all rely upon the colophon in a Ms. of Saptapadārthī belonging to the Benaras Sanskrit College which runs thus ‘ इति श्रीव्योमशिवः प्रणीतः शङ्कराश्रमि सप्तपदार्थी समाप्तः । ’¹³

⁹ The date of Udayana has not been finally settled yet, see the article ‘Udayana and Vāchaṇpatimiśra’, J. R. A. S., April 1908.

¹⁰ This point is treated further on.

¹¹ Vinḍhyavariprasada's Introduction to Vaiśeṣikadarśana.

¹² Dr. Peterson's report for 1884-1886, p. 272 and ff.

¹³ Edition of Saptapadārthī, in the Vizayanagar Sk. Series, p. 80, footnote

And it is very probable that Śivāditya should be the author of some more important and voluminous work than the short manual of Saptapadārthī, before he is so frequently alluded to by writers like, Gaṅgeśopādhyāya and Śrīharsha.¹⁴

Now if Śivāditya's Vṛtti had been composed earlier than Udayana's Kiranāvalī, the latter should have referred to the former somewhere in his works; and moreover the assertion contained in one of the introductory verses of Kiranāvalī¹⁵ would lose much of its force. Thus I am inclined to hold that Śivāditya did not very probably precede Udayana.

To the argument that the order in which Rājaśekhara mentions the four Vṛttis must have reference to chronology, much weight cannot be attached in the absence of other proofs. Thus Śivāditya belongs to the close of the 10th century and the early beginning of the 11th century.

Another work by name Lakṣhaṇamālā is also attributed to Śivāditya;¹⁶ because in Chitsukhīvyākhyā, the commentator, in connection with the refutation of the definitions of Dravya, etc., consisting of Dravyatva and similar words, remarks "यानि शिवादित्यमिश्रोक्तानि लक्षणानि लक्षणमालायामुक्तानि तान्यपि निरस्तानि."¹⁷

It cannot be said that Lakṣhaṇamālā is only another name for Saptapadārthī; for in the same work Chitsukhīvyākhyā, we read further on, during the discussion of the definition¹⁸ of Karma "वृत्तिसंयोगाऽसमानाधिकरणसत्तासाक्षाद्व्याप्यजातिमदिति वा संयोगाऽजन्यसंयोगाऽ

¹⁴ The general plan of Saptapadārthī also is in favour of this assumption, for which see further on.

¹⁵ अतिविरसमसारं मानवार्ताविहीनं

प्रविततबहुवेलप्रक्रियाजालदु स्थं ।

उदधिसममतन्त्रं तन्त्रमेतद्वदन्ति

प्रखलजडधियो ये तेऽनुकम्प्यन्त एते ॥ Vaiveshikadarśana, Bib. Ind. Series, p. 3

¹⁶ Notice in connection with this the objection raised by Col Jacob in his preface to Part III, Laukikanyāyāñjali. Varadarāja in his Tārakarakṣhā has 'निरुपाधिकसाध्यसंबंधशालि लिङ्गमिति लक्षणमालायां' (p. 179), on which, Mallinātha comments thus: 'तत्र प्रथमलक्षणे उदयनसंमतिमाह' from which it appears that Mallinātha attributes Lakṣhaṇamālā to Udayana. But this alone cannot disprove the fact that Śivāditya is the author of Lakṣhaṇamālā, which is positively mentioned elsewhere. Moreover it is very possible that the Lakṣhaṇāvalī of Udayana might have been mentioned by the name of Lakṣhaṇamālā, owing to the similarity of the two names; as for instance, Vopisamśāsa is named Vopī-Samvarāṇa, in some Mss.

¹⁷ Ramasastry's Introduction to Saptapadārthī, p. 4.

¹⁸ Ramasastry's Introduction to Saptapadārthī, p. 4.

समवायिकारणवृत्तिसंयोगत्वासमानाधिकरणजातिमद्वेत्यादीनि शिवादित्यभिभोक्तानि लक्षणानि भविष्यन्तीति etc.”

Now the definition referred to here, is not found in Saptapadārthī, so also, no trace of the passage referred to in Tatvachintāmaṇi¹⁹ is seen in Saptapadārthī.

The general plan followed in Saptapadārthī is quite obvious and seems to be solely based on the fourth Sūtra of Kaṇāda, of which the whole work may be regarded as only a full and systematic exposition. After the customary salutation to Śambhu, the author enumerates the seven Padārthas and their sub-varieties (Uddeśa), then states the Prayojana or object of the enumeration, that it is the right knowledge (Tatvajñāna) of these Padārthas that leads to the highest good (Nisśreyasa). But as the right knowledge cannot be derived unless the Padārthas are defined, the author proceeds to the Lakṣhaṇa section, after explaining the meaning of Nisśreyasa which is the ultimate object in view.²⁰

¹⁹ P. 830.

²⁰ It is noteworthy that the definition 'तत्त्वमनारोपितं रूपं' in Saptapadārthī, is, word for word, the same as that in Kiraṇāvali, p. 6. Bib. Indica Series

ART. V.—*The Portuguese in the Persian Gulf.**

BY J. A. SALDANHA, B.A., LL.B.

(Communicated.)

The Ottoman Turks in 1453 A.D. seized Constantinople, in a few years overran South-Western Europe, Syria and Egypt, and created powerful fleets, which on the one side obtained full command over the Indian seas, and on the other threatened to subjugate the whole Mediterranean basin. But the wave of their conquests in the West was turned back by the victories of the combined fleets of Spain, Venice and other Italian states; while in the East a power, having her birth in the small kingdom in the extreme West of Europe, fresh from her victories in her crusades against the Moors that had established themselves in the Iberian Peninsula, diverted her enterprise against the Mussalman dominion in the Eastern seas and turned the flank of Islam in its grapple with Christendom. One of the smallest and poorest of the kingdoms of Europe, Portugal, put forth energy and embarked on a maritime enterprise which seems really extraordinary. "The swift audacity of the hero nation," the late Sir William Hunter in the first volume of his *History of British India* truly observes, "forms an epic compared with which our early labours are plain prose." Actuated by the spirit of the crusaders, the Portuguese pursued the Moors (as they called all Mahomedans) and all who traded with them with barbaric and relentless ferocity, established like the Phœnicians of old factories at every important port, concluded treaties with native princes for securing the monopoly of the trade of their country from which they had strictly to exclude the Moors. The Portuguese cared little for territorial aggrandizement, but cared more to establish a commercial empire as well also to extend the empire of the Catholic religion. In founding their vast maritime empire, one of the first steps they took was to establish their supremacy in the Persian Gulf. Let us see how they did this.

In April 1506 Tristao da Cunha sailed from Lisbon accompanied by

* Authorities:—*Administration Report of the Persian Gulf Residency and Maskat Agency, 1884-85*, pp. 24 *et seq.*

Danvers—*The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, pp. 157-177, 246-290, 310-322, 350-51, 354, 397, 402, 467, 500, 502, 507, 514-15; Vol. II, pp. 27-28, 45-47, 163, 207-213, 213, 243-44, 273, 254-92, 370, 384-85.

Birdwood—*Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (1891) pp. 155-163.

Consult also the authorities cited by Danvers and Birdwood.

Alfonso Albuquerque and in August 1507 having completed the conquest of Socotra from the Moors, left for India, leaving behind Albuquerque with a flotilla of ships and with instructions for the capture of Aden, the blockade of the Red Sea and the bombardment of Jedda. Albuquerque perceiving the uselessness of his station at Socotra for the purpose intended and well aware that his flotilla was too small to attempt the capture of Aden, proceeded with his fleet for the purpose of capturing Ormuz, then the chief emporium of commerce in the Persian Gulf, the seizure of which would secure the entire command of the Persian Gulf route and would be of greater service to the Portuguese than the temporary blockade of the Red Sea and the bombardment of Jedda. The fleet on its way, passed the Kuria-Muria islands; burnt 30 or 40 Arab ships from Ormuz at Ras-al-Hadd; took supplies from the town of Kalhat, then an important centre of trade, which readily threw off or pretended to throw off its allegiance to the King of Ormuz in favour of the King of Portugal; destroyed the towns of Kuryat and Maskat, which did not prove so pliant as Kalhat received the submission of Sohar; pillaged and burnt the town of Khore Fakaun and thence proceeded to the town of Ormuz. After some negotiations with the King of Ormuz and the Governor Kojeh Atar and receiving a refusal of their exorbitant terms, the Portuguese attacked and burnt the fleet in the harbour, and some detachments having landed routed the troops on the shore. The king at once tendered his submission and signed a treaty in September 1507, acknowledging the King of Portugal as his lord, agreeing to pay him 15,000 Xeraphins as tribute and 5,000 Xeraphins for the expenses of the fleet annually, and giving the Portuguese permission to build a castle either on one of the islands of Kishm or Turumbake or on the mainland at Naband. Albuquerque preferred to build the fortress at the northern point of the island of Ormuz and the work was put in hand at once. But the mutinous conduct and desertion of several of the Portuguese compelled Albuquerque to abandon the work, which was not resumed till 1514 during his viceroyalty, when it was placed in charge of a Commandant.

The Shah of Persia, the shrewd and energetic Sheikh Ismael, perceiving in the new rising power of the Portuguese a great weapon against his old enemy, the Sultan of Constantinople, sought their friendship and alliance. Accordingly we find the ambassador of Sheikh Ismael at the Court of Adil Shah at Bijapur making advances to Alfonso Albuquerque. Ultimately in 1515 an ambassador was despatched from Goa to the Shah, was received at his Court with great pomp and returned with magnificent presents, accompanied by an ambassador from Sheikh Ismael.

Meanwhile Pedro-de-Albuquerque, a nephew of Alfonso Albuquerque, who had been sent to Ormuz to demand tribute from its king, found that the latter had acknowledged the supremacy of the Shah of Persia, but did not find it difficult to obtain from him a renewal of a display of loyalty to the Portuguese Crown. Having, however, failed to get the arrears of tribute due from the king, Pedro-de-Albuquerque proceeded with his fleet to make an exploration of the Persian Gulf, with a warning to him to keep the arrears ready to pay on his return voyage. The Portuguese fleet made a survey of the gulf ports and islands as far as Bahrein and the Persian port of Rasiel, and on his return received a portion of the arrears of tribute due from the King of Ormuz.

The King having again made default in payment of tribute and excused himself on the ground of the King of Lahsa's refusal to pay the tribute due for El Katif and Bahrein, an expedition was despatched in 1521 under a Portuguese Admiral to Bahrein. In a fiercely fought battle the king of Lahsa was killed.

In 1523 a treaty was signed by the King of Ormuz, by which his tribute to the King of Portugal was increased.

In 1529 Belchier Tavarez de Souza was sent with a small force to Basrah to assist the King of the place against the chief of the Island of Gizaira. The Portuguese commander having settled the affair without having recourse to force, the King of Basrah refused to deliver up certain Turkish vessels or to prohibit the Turks from again trading at Basrah, which were the conditions upon which the Portuguese had agreed to assist him, thereupon Belchier Tavarez burnt two of his towns and returned to Ormuz.

From 1550 to 1559 we find the Turks assisting the local chiefs in the Persian Gulf against the King of Ormuz and the Portuguese. The Gulf was a constant scene of strife, which ended in a complete defeat of the Turks on the Island of Bahrein.

About 1581 some Turkish galleys despatched from Mocha by Alibec took by surprise the Portuguese garrison at Maskat, plundered the town and carried away a large quantity of spoils, without meeting much opposition from the Portuguese, who fled to Bruxel. An expedition sent in pursuit of Alibec under Luiz de Almeida from Ormuz went out of its intended course and plundered Pesani, Guadel and Gedrosia (a town on the banks of River Calamen).

In 1582 the King of Lars, ambitious of wresting from the Kingdom of Ormuz its supremacy on the Persian Coast, proceeded to conquer the coast towns and laid siege to Ormuz, but was repulsed by the united forces of the King of Ormuz and the Portuguese.

Luis da Gama, Commander of the Portuguese Fort at Ormuz, having caused great offence to the Persians on the mainland, a Persian fleet of 300 barques was sent to capture the fort of Bandel with a view to cutting the water supply of Ormuz, but it was dispersed easily by the Portuguese (1613 A. D.).

After a series of negotiations between Shah Abbas and the East India Company, beginning from the year 1613, the Persians and the English attacked and captured Ormuz in April 1622, thus wresting it from the Portuguese after they had held it effectively from 1514, when their castle on it was completed.

After the loss of Ormuz, the Portuguese established a factory of trade at Basrah, which also became the seat of a religious community and seminary for learning (1623).

In 1624-1625 two engagements took place between the Portuguese fleet under the command of Ruy Frere de Andrade on the one side and the English and Dutch fleets on the sea of Ormuz, in which both sides lost heavily.

In 1631, under instructions from the King of Spain endeavours were made by Ruy Frere to effect a re-settlement at Ormuz, but in vain. A fort was, however, established at Jalfar in the neighbourhood of the celebrated fishery.

At the time when the Portuguese acquired their independence from the Spanish yoke in 1640, they possessed fortresses at the following places in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman :—

Kuryat, Dobar, Maskat, Matrah, Sohar, Jalfar, Basrah, Kong and Bandel.

In 1640 Maskat was attacked by the Arabs who were however repulsed, but in 1643 Sohar was taken by the Imam.

In August 1648 the Arabs, under Said bin Kalifa, besieged Maskat, when plague was raging in the town. The garrison having soon expended its ammunition, the Portuguese had to buy peace on very disastrous terms :—The fortifications at Kuryat, Dobar and Matrah were razed to the ground, and the Imam's vessels were to be allowed to navigate the seas and trade without passports from the Portuguese, and free from the payment of customs.

Soon afterwards, the fort of Maskat was captured by the Arabs, and the Portuguese left the place for good.

In 1690 the Portuguese General, Antonio Machado de Britto, concluded a treaty with the Pasha of Basrah, under which the Portuguese were permitted to enjoy perfect freedom of trade at that port and were not to be subjected to any higher tax than 3 per cent. upon their commerce. Perfect freedom of religion was also guaranteed.

The Shah of Persia having recently lost Ormuz, which had been taken by the Turks, and also Bahrein, which had been seized by the Arabs, sought the assistance of the Portuguese by sending an ambassador to Goa, with the result that an expedition was despatched in 1719 to the Persian Gulf. A running fight was carried on from Kong, the Portuguese settlement, to Julfar and Maskat, in which the Arabs were defeated with heavy loss. The signal defeat of the Arabs was followed by riots at Maskat and the death of the Imam, who was succeeded by his nephew. An attempt was made by the latter to come to terms with the Portuguese, to which the latter would not agree, expecting to receive assistance from the Shah of Persia, who had come out successful in his domestic wars in consequence of the recent assistance rendered by the Portuguese in the Gulf against the Arabs. But the tardiness of the Shah in coming to their assistance, compelled the Portuguese fleet to return to Goa. This was the last opportunity that offered itself to the Portuguese to regain their power in the Persian Gulf, but their troubles nearer their capital in India and the ingratitude of the Persian Shah prevented them from utilizing the opportunity. Thus passed away the Portuguese Empire in the Persian Gulf, after having exercised for nearly a century and a half a control over the Gulf politics and trade, which has not fallen to the lot of any other European power. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

ART. VI.—*Chitorgadh Prasasti.*

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(Communicated.)

Last year while I was going over the list of Jaina MSS. given in the late Prof. Kathavate's Report for the years 1891-95, I happened to stumble on its No. 1332. The name of the work therein given is *Chitrakūṭadurgē Mahāvīra-prāsāda prasasti*. Being curious to know what it was, I ransacked the descriptive part of that Report, and even glanced over the extracts at the end, with a view to have some light thrown on the matter, but I was disappointed. I had, therefore, no recourse left but to secure the original MS., and, through the kindness of the Director of Public Instruction, I was successful in obtaining it. On perusing it, I found that the contents thereof were in every way interesting, and wondered why no summary of it had been published. I, therefore, make no excuse for publishing the *prasasti* prefixed by a resumé of its contents together with explanatory notes wherever necessary.

The *prasasti* begins with obeisance to *Śrī-Sarvajña*, the omniscient. Then follows the first verse devoted to the praise of the Goddess of speech. The next five stanzas (2-6) invoke the blessings of *Vīṣṇubhānātha*, *Śāntinātha*, *Nēminātha*, *Pārśvanātha* and *Mahāvīra*, the first, the sixteenth, the twenty-second, the twenty-third, and the twenty-fourth *tīrthamkara* respectively. Stanza 7 speaks of a country named *Medapāṭa* (Mewār), whose high edifices, shining in various places, served as so many towers of victory raised in commemoration of the subjugation of other countries. The following verse says that here, *i.e.*, in Mewār, flourished *Guhilārāja*, from whom sprang the well known *Guhila* dynasty. In this royal family there was a king called *Hammīra* who vanquished the *Turushkas*, *i.e.*, the Turks, the *Muhammādans* (v. 9). He was succeeded by his son *Kheta*, and the latter by his son *Laksha* (vs. 10-11). After *Laksha*, his son *Mokala* became king, who "engraved his precious fame on the breasts of the fair-faced of *Sapādalaksha* in the form of the drops of water (issuing) from their eyes" (v. 12). The next two stanzas bestow on him nothing but pure conventional praise. Verse 15 speaks of *Śrī-Mokala* as having granted liberation (*mukti*) even to the sacred place *Gayā*, which is celebrated for giving beatitude (*mukti*) to the people. This may perhaps be taken to refer to some attempt made by him, to

expel the enemies of his faith, *viz.*, the Muhammadans, from the holy land of Gayâ as his father Lâkhâ is credited with having done. In the verse following he is described as having vanquished the king of Nâgapura. Nâgapura is unquestionably Nâgaur, the principal town of the province of the same name in the northernmost part of the Jodhpur State. In the province there is a small district of the name Svâlâkh which is famous for horses. It is no doubt in this name that the old Sapâdalaksha, mentioned in verse 12 above and associated in epigraphs with the Châhamânas, survives. In old days it was, of course, much more extensive than at present. It cannot possibly be the region round about the Sawâlâkh hills near the Himâlayas, with which, so far as we know, the Châhamânas were in no way connected. Nâgaur, on the other hand, is quite close to Sâmbhar, the ancient Śâkambharî, the original seat of the Châhamâna power. Verses 12 and 16 thus mean the same thing by representing Mokala as having subjugated Sapâdalaksha or as having defeated the king of Nâgapura (Nâgaur). The latter place was at this time held by Firuz Khan Dandâni, related to and viceroy of Ahmed I., Sultân of Gujarât. And I have not the least doubt that he is the same as Peroja, king of Yavanas, whom the Chitorgadh inscription, dated A.D., 1428, speaks of Mokala as having vanquished. Prof. Kielhorn identifies this Peroja with the Sultan Firoz Shâh. But Firoz Tughlak reigned from A.D. 1351-1388 and could not have been a contemporary of Mokala. Peroja of the Chitorgadh inscription must, therefore, be supposed to be identical with Firuz Khân Dandâni. Verse 17 again is purely eulogistic and teaches us nothing new. But the next verse tells us that Mokala was succeeded by his son Kumbhakarna, whose conquests of Lâta, Bhoja, Karnâta, Jângala¹, Kaliṅga, Kuru, Mâlava and Gûrjara are mentioned in the stanza following. Verse 20 lavishes nothing but pure conventional praise on him, and contains no historical information. Verse 21 speaks of the mountain Chitrakûta (Chitorgadh) as being guarded by Kumbhakarna and as "serving as a crown on the head of the young woman, *viz.*, the country of Śrî-Medapâta" (Mewâr). The next two verses describe its various features wherein it excelled other mountains. Verse 24 says that "the town of the gods, being depressed in consequence of having to live without support (from below), descended from heaven on the earth in the form of Nagara near its foot by using this mountain as a pole of the ladder." This evidently refers to the place Nagari, six miles to the north of Chitorgadh, and the mention of "the town of the gods"

¹ Bikaner *śâkhâ* was first known as Jâmgalû, and its capita was also called by that name. Bhoja is ordinarily identified with Tibet.

is, I think, made in order to imply the great antiquity of the place, where indeed even Buddhist remains of an early period have been discovered. Here at Chitorgadh reigned Kumbhakarna (v. 25).

The *prasasti* then describes an altogether different family, *viz.*, that of the Sâhukâr who renovated the temple of Mahāvira at Chitorgadh. Of the Ūkeśa (Osvâl) race, there was one Visala in Chitorgadh. His son was Deda or Dedâ, and his son was Dhanapâla *Sâdhu*,¹ who lived in Karṇâvatî, the ornament of the Gûrjara country (vs. 26-28). Karṇâvatî was the city founded and made his capital, by the Solankî king Karṇa. It was the place which was purified by the visit of Hemachandrasûri, who converted Kumârapâla to Jainism, and is supposed to be modern Ahmedâbâd.

Dhanapâla had four sons, *viz.*, Sâṅgaṇa, Godâ, Samarâ, and Châchâ. Amongst these Châchâkâ, the ornament of Karṇâvatî, and the crest jewel of all prominent (*prabhâvaka*) persons, bore unequal beauty by pilgrimages, meritorious deeds done according to the Ârhata law and so forth. He also constructed a temple in the city of Âśâpalli, which seems to be Âśâval near Ahmedâbâd (vs. 29-31). His first wife was Lâdî, from whom he had three sons, *viz.*, Vijâḍa, Sâmalâ and Pûnâ (v. 32). His second wife was Muktdêvî from whom sprang four sons. Of these, the first was Guṇarâja *sâdhu*, the lord of two wives, *viz.*, Śrî and Bhârâtî, goddesses of wealth and learning, the second Âmbâka, the third Lîmbâka, and the fourth Jayatâ (vs. 33-36). The wives of these four brothers were respectively Gaṅgâde, Mânîkade, Hemâdevî and Jasamâde (v. 37). From verses 38-39, we learn that Guṇarâja *sâdhu* was exalted by Śrî-Pâta-sâhi, lord of the Gûrjara country to the rank of the member of his council. Then follow four verses which give us no historical information. Verse 44 says that he made a pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya and Raivata mountains² twice, once in V. E. 1457 and another time in V. E. 1462. Then we are told that his brother Âmrâ (Âmbâka), though in the prime of his youth, abandoned his wife and riches, and turned a monk, and in him Śrî-Sthûlabhadra incarnated himself (v. 45). The next verse informs us that he caused Guṇarâja, who had been enlightened by the words of the preceptor Devasundara, to perform praiseworthy pious acts exciting the admiration of the

¹ Monier-Williams' dictionary gives for *Sâdhu* also the sense "a merchant, money-lender, usurer," which suits here excellently. It no doubt corresponds to *Śâh*, which is found used as an honorific suffix to the names of merchants in records of the 13th century onwards (compare e.g. the name Vimala Śâh). *Sâdhu* and *Śâh* are also the name as the well-known word *Sâhukâr*.

² Raivata is constantly mentioned in the *Śatruñjaya-mâhâtmya* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX, p. 243 and note 28). It is now identified with Mount Girnâr, near Junâgadh, which is held sacred to Śrî-Neminâtha, the twenty-second *tīrthamkâr*.

world, and to install Munisundara in the rank of a *pāṭhaka* in V. E. 1465.¹ What probably is meant is that he celebrated the festivities attendant upon the ceremony. Munisundara was a pupil of Somasundara, who himself was a pupil of Devasundara. In V. E. 1468 a famine was raging, and by erecting alms-houses and distributing gratis ghee, food, and gifts amongst the poor and afflicted coming from various countries, he obtained victory over this foe (v. 47). In V. E. 1470 he went on a pilgrimage to Sopāraka, *i.e.*, Sopārā, in the Thāṇā district (v. 48). Verse 49 similarly makes mention of his pilgrimages to Jirāpallī and Arbuda.² The verse following is purely laudatory and tells us nothing new. The next five verses (51-55) describe his third pilgrimage to Vimalāchala (Śatruñjaya) and other sacred places which was undertaken in V. E. 1477; which was accompanied by musical instruments filling the worlds with sound and proclaiming his fame; which was rendered attractive by the miniature shrines, the sporting-abode of the goddess of victory over the ten quarters; which was headed by the *guru* Somasundara; which was greeted by the feudatory princes in consequence of the *farman* of Padsah; and to which were invited the *saṃghas* and *mahājanas* from various countries, such as Gūrjara and so forth. This pilgrimage seems to have been very grand, as, in the description of this pilgrimage only, it is said to have reminded the people of the first *yuga* although it was the fourth, and, by the pomp and pageant attendant upon it, Guṇarajā *siddhu* was actually likened by the people to Bharata, son of the first *tirthamkara* as he appeared, when he visited Śatruñjaya with his full paraphernalia and with great festivities. Verses 56-58 also describe this grand pilgrimage in general terms, but do not add to our knowledge. The verse following however informs us that during this pilgrimage he caused Jinasundara to be installed in the rank of *sūri* at Madhumatī, with great festivities. This Jinasundara³, like Munisundara mentioned above, must doubtless be the pupil of Somasundara, and Madhumatī is the modern Mahuvā, principal town of the district of the same name, Bhāvnagar State. In verse 60 the mountain Raivata is compared to *Suragiri*, *i.e.*, Meru, and verse 61 tells us that by means of his various religious excellences he released Śāraṅga, Kumāra, king Samprati, Vastupāla and so forth from their prison-room, *vis.*, the mind of the people, by putting himself in their place. The next four verses, again, are merely eulogistic, revealing no fact or incident connected

¹ The date as given in the *pattāvalī* is, however, one year later.

² Arbuda is, of course, Monnt Ābū. Jirāpallī is still in existence and is six miles north of Barmān in the Sirohi State.

³ He was the author of *dīpālikā-kalpa* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, p. 246, No. 50).

with Guṇarāja. In verses 66-72 we are informed that he had five sons, that the first was Gaja, the second Mahirāja of amorous propensities, the third Bāla who was held in respect by the king Mokala for the purposes of commerce (*vyavasāya*), the fourth Kālū who was on the road to becoming a *prabhāvaka*, and the fifth Īśvara who took delight in the worship of Ādinātha, the first *tirthamkara*. The verse following mentions Gaṅgā as the name of their mother, and of the wife of Guṇarāja, the same information being previously given in verse 37. The name of the son of Āmbāka, who was a brother of Guṇarāja and who had become a monk, was Manāka; and the son of Jayatā, the youngest brother of Guṇarāja, was Jinarāja (Vs. 74-5).

Here ends the description of the family of Guṇarāja and commences the order of pontifical succession of the Tapāgachchha. The first Gaṇadhara of Vardhamāna, we are told, was Gautama, and the fifth was Sudharmā. After the latter flourished Jambū, and in course of time there was Vajrasvāmī (v. 76). The ornament of his *sākhā* or line was the *sūri* Jagachchandra, who by his rigorous religious austerities (*tapas*) caused the Chandragachchha to be styled Tapā by the princes (v. 77). We know from the Jaina *pañjāvalis* that Jagachchandra vanquished in controversies thirty-two opponents who were preceptors of the Digambara sect at Āghāṭapura¹ in the assembly of the king and was styled Hīralā-Jagachchandra-sūri, being impenetrable like a *hiraka* or diamond in discussions. Then for twelve years he practised religious austerities, which gained for him the title Tapā from the king. By this name his *gachchha* also became known, i.e., his *gachchha* was henceforth called Tapā-gachchha which name has continued down to the present time.² Jagachchandra was succeeded by Devendrasūri, whose collection of works, it is stated, like the rays of the sun made the roads (*padavi*) of *Śivapura* or town of absolution bright (v. 78). His seat was graced by Dharmaghosha, who established the god Gomukha, i.e., Gomukha, Yaksha of Ādinātha, at Śatruñjaya, and he was succeeded to this rank by Somaprabhasūri, who had got by heart both the text and meaning (*sūtrīrtha*) of all the eleven *angas* (vs. 79-80). After the latter Somatilaka became the ornament of his *pañja*, who was an expert in composing the various *sāstras* (v. 81). He was succeeded to the pontifical seat by Devasundara, and the latter by Somasundara on listening to whose religious sermons Guṇarāja shone as much as the king Kumārāpāla, who listened to the words of Hemāchārya (vs. 82-85). Then we are told in verse 86 that "through the order

¹ Āghāṭapura is Āhaḍ or Ād, the ancient capital of Mewār, not far from the present Udaipur Station.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 254-5.

of King Mokala, who conferred unequalled favours (on him), the *sādhu* Guṇarāja rebuilt with delight on Mount Chitrakūṭa, this (temple), standing close to the *kīrtistambha* or tower of fame, and whose beauty is enhanced by a row of lofty *maṇḍapas* and chapels. His son, Bāla, who is referred to above as being thought of highly by Mokala, appears to have been entrusted with the work of supervision in this connection (v. 87). The next three verses are in praise of the temple, of Guṇarāja who rebuilt it, and of Somasundara who enlightened him. Amidst a variety of festivities propagating the cause of Jainism, the five sons of *Sādhu* Guṇarāja placed in the temple a new image of Vardhamāna, in the year 1485 (A. D. 1428), which was consecrated by Somasundara. This probably means that although he commenced rebuilding the temple he did not live to see the image installed and that this work had consequently to be done by his sons. Verse 92 says that the height of this temple was so great that all well-known mountains, such as Vindhya, Kailāsa, Trikūṭa, Maināka and so forth, were shorn of their beauty. The next verse says that on perceiving this temple and the *kīrtistambha*, everybody began to suspect whether they were towers of victory erected in honour of the Jina who has triumphed over worldly attachment and hatred, whether they were two bridges for crossing the boundless ocean, *viz.*, the Evil Birth (*gaṭi*), or whether they were two poles of a ladder to obtain the supreme bliss of the gods. This temple, we are told in the verse following, by upraising the hand under the pretext of the *kīrtistambha* declares to the world, "by ascending the flight of stairs, O you pious persons, enjoy yourselves, free from all care, in the abodes of celestial felicity." Verses 95 and 96 are important. In the first we are informed that the structure, *viz.*, the *kīrtistambha*, was first built by Kumārapala of the *Prāg-vamśa* or Porvād family, leader of the *saṃgha*, to the south of this (temple), bearing to it the beauty of a mountain-like *maṇḍapa* and always doing twelve kinds of worship to the lord of the Jinās in an eight-fold manner. And, to the north of this (*kīrtistambha*), says the second verse, an elegant temple (*i.e.* the present one) was erected by an Osvāl of the name Chācha, son of Teja, and resident at Chitrakūṭa. Verses 97-100 bestow purely conventional praise on Guṇarāja and his sons. The verse following tells us that the *prasasti* was composed in V.E. 1495 by Chāritraratna-gaṇi, pupil of Somasundara. From the next verse we learn that the *prasasti* was written by a *Jati* named Samvegajaja and engraved by Nārada, son of the *Sūtradhāra* Laksha. The remaining verses, which are two in number, express a wish, for the permanence of the temple, and for Mahāvīra and the *prasasti* causing delight to the whole world. Then follow one or two lines

in prose, which may thus be rendered : "And thus (ends) the *prasasti* of the temple of Mahāvīra on the illustrious fort of Chitrakūṭa composed by Śrī-Chāritraratna-gaṇi, the highest priest and 'crest-jewel of the charming circle (of the learned). This *prasasti* was copied in the great capital Devagiri in Samvat 1508 in the Prajāpati cyclic year."

I have so far given an account of the contents of this *prasasti*, with some additional remarks of my own to elucidate the various points therein referred to. I shall now turn to other matters connected with it. In the first place, this *prasasti* could not possibly have formed an integral part of any literary work. This is seen from the fact that it calls itself *Chitrakūṭadurge Mahāvīra-prāsāda-prasasti*, and deals with this subject only. This shows that it is an independent thing in itself. Next, there cannot be even the shadow of a doubt as to its having been incised as an inscription in the temple of Mahāvīra, to which it relates. Verse 102, as we have just seen, speaks of the mason Nārada as having engraved the *prasasti*. The word 'engraved' *utkīrṇavān* is worthy of note, and it indubitably shows that originally it was an inscription. Further verse 86, which gives the object of the *prasasti*, viz., the mention of the re-erection of the temple under the instructions of Mokala, refers to it as shown above, only by the pronoun 'this' (*amum*), no noun signifying 'a structure' being used. This distinctly points to the inscription having been incised in the temple of Mahāvīra. This temple is no longer in existence, and this explains why no inscription identical with this *prasasti* has been found at Chitorgadh, although the ancient remains thereon have been so thoroughly explored by quite an array of Archæological Surveyors and antiquarians. That the copy of this inscription should have been preserved in a manuscript, which, again was written at Devagiri, i.e. Daulatābād in the Nizām's territory quite far off from Chitorgadh, is not a little curious. But a similar instance has come to my notice during my archæological tours. While at Jodhpur in 1907, a copy in manuscript of the copper-plate grant of Baroda of Śaka 783, issued by the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Kakka, had been brought for my inspection from a Jaina *bhaṇḍār*. How a manuscript copy of the copper-plate inscription, discovered so far south as Baroda, found its way to a Jaina *bhaṇḍār* so far north as Jodhpur is equally inexplicable. The probable explanation is that the Jaina Jatis are as industrious as learned, and when they start on their religious tours, they always gather, for being stored in their *bhaṇḍārs*, not only what pertains to their religion but also what is interesting in general. And if a copy of the Baroda copper-plate charter which registers a grant to a Brāhmaṇa and conse-

quently has no religious significance to the Jatis, is found at Jodhpur, it need not surprise us at all, that a copy of an inscription in the temple of Mahāvira at Chitorgadh, which necessarily has religious importance in the eyes of the Jainas, was made at Devagiri (Daulatabad).

श्रीसर्वज्ञाय नमः ॥

जिनवदनसरोजे या विलासं विशुद्ध-

द्वयनयमयपक्षा राजहंसीव धत्ते ॥

कुमतसुमतनीरक्षीरयोर्व्यक्तिकर्त्रां

जनयतु जनतानां भारती^१ भारती सा ॥ १ ॥

मेरुः स्मेरप्रमोदे त्रिदशपतिगणे यस्य जन्माभिषेक

निर्मायं निर्ममाणे घुसृणमसृणितैः स्नात्रवारिप्रवाहैः ॥

प्राप्तः किं पीतिमान कनकगिरिरिति ख्यातिमाप क्षमाया-

मक्षामाः सौख्यलक्ष्मीवृषभजिनपतिवः स पृथ्वादसंख्याः ॥ २ ॥

प्रीणन्तः सर्वकालं कुवलयमखिलं तामसस्तोमनाशे

निष्णाः पुष्णन्तु लक्ष्मीं कमनखशशिनः शान्तिनेतुर्नतानाम् ॥

संक्रान्ता येषु हर्षप्रसरसरभसा नम्रनाकीन्द्रकोटी-

कोटीरागोपविष्टा मरकतमणयो लक्ष्मलीलां वहन्त ॥ ३ ॥

भाले नीलमणीयते मुखविधौ लक्ष्मोपमामश्रुते

पुष्णात्यञ्जनमञ्जुतां नयनयोर्धत्ते तु वक्षस्तटे ॥

कस्तूरीमयपत्रवलितुलनां मुत्रामवामभ्रुवां

यस्याङ्गयुतिसंततिः स तनुतां नेमिः श्रियं नेमषाम् ॥ ४ ॥

भीष्मे प्रीष्म इव प्रसर्पति कलौ सर्वान्यदेवप्रभा

निश्शेषाः सरसीरिव प्रतिपदं शोषं नयत्यन्वहम् ॥

युक्तं यन्महिमा महोदधिरिव स्फातिं परामभ्युते

देवः सेवकवत्सलः प्रतिफलं प्रीणातु पार्श्वः स वः ॥ ५ ॥

उद्धर्ता धरणीमसाविति सुखं भेजे भुजङ्गेश्वर-

श्छेत्तायं परितस्तमस्ततिमिति प्रीतः प्रमाणां पतिः ॥

दातायं जगतोऽपि कामितमिति स्वर्गिद्रुमाः स्वेच्छया

चेरुर्मेरुवने यदीयजनने देवः स वीरः श्रिये ॥ ६ ॥

अस्ति स्वस्तिपदं समस्तकमलाविश्रामभूर्विश्रुतो

देशः पेशलसंनिवेशकलितः श्रीमेदपाटाभिधः ॥

स्थानस्थानविराजमानविशदप्रासाददम्भादहो

यो देशानितरान्विजित्य विजयस्तम्भान्समुत्तम्भयेत् ॥ ७ ॥ •

इह हि गुहिलराजस्तेजसामेकमोकः

सकलनृपतिमौलिः पालयामास पृथ्वीम् ॥

जगति गुहिलवंशः ख्यातिमानेष यस्मा-

दजनि जनिनिमित्तं जात्यपमौक्तिकानाम् ॥ ८ ॥

वंशे तत्र पवित्रचित्रचरितस्तेजस्विनामग्रणीः

श्रीहृम्मीरमहीपतिः स्म तपति क्षमापालवास्तोष्पतिः ॥

तौरुष्काऽमितमुण्डमण्डलमिथःसंघट्टवाचालिता

यस्याद्यापि वदन्ति कीर्तिमभितः संग्राममीमाभुवः ॥ ९ ॥

दिङ्मूलकषकीर्तिधौतभुवनस्तस्याङ्गभूर्निर्भर

भूभारं बिभारांबभूव तदनु श्रीखतनामा नृपः ॥

दृष्यत्पीवरगोपिकास्तनभरक्षणं मुरारेरुर-

स्यक्त्वा श्रीर्विललास पाणिकमले यस्यानिश कोमले ॥ १० ॥

श्रीलक्षः क्षितिपालभालतिलकः प्रव्यातकीर्तिस्ततो

निर्माति स्म तदङ्गजो वसुमती राजन्वतीमन्वहम् ॥

न्यायश्रोः कलिकालभीषणतमग्रीष्मातपोत्तापिता

भेजे यद्भुजदण्डमण्डपतले विश्रामलीलासुखम् ॥ ११ ॥

तत्र त्रैदशधामवामनयना नेत्रत्रिभागातिथौ

पृथ्वी पालयति स्म तस्य तनयः श्रीमोकलः क्षमार्पातः ॥

यो दुर्द्धर्षसपादलक्षसुमुखीवक्षस्तटेषु स्फुटा-

भालेखन्नयनोदबिन्दामषतः कीर्तिं प्रशस्ता निजाम् ॥ १२ ॥

स्फातिं शत्रुकलत्रनेत्रसरसां समूत्रयन्दार्प्यते

नव्यः कोपि भुवि प्रतापतपनः श्रीमोकलोर्वापतेः ॥

यो यः स्वातपवारण प्रतिनृपस्तत्याज निर्व्याजर्था-

र्यस्तापं न हि तस्य तस्य तनुते नित्योदयः श्रीयुतः ॥ १३ ॥

निदशेषप्रतिभामपालकमलालुण्टाकदेर्विक्रमः

श्रामान्मोकलभूपार्तविजयतां यस्त्यागर्लालार्पितः ॥

निश्चिन्ताः सकला वनीयकततीर्निर्माय चिन्तामहो

चक्रेऽव्यर्थितदानकौतुकतया चिन्तामणेः केवलम् ॥ १४ ॥

गवाह्यतीर्थं जनमुक्तिदायं उरा पुणेषु किल प्रतीतम् ॥

तस्याप्यहो संप्रति मुक्तिदाता श्रीमोकलः कस्य न विस्मयाय ॥ १५ ॥
 *कः प्रौढिमा नागपुरेशभङ्गश्लाघाभिरेतस्य महीमघोनः ॥
 यतोऽस्य कीर्तिर्दयितापि धाम्ना पगकरांन्नागपुराधिराजम् ॥ १६ ॥
 ऐश्वर्येण दिवस्पतिं मृगपतिं शौर्येण वाचस्पतिं
 चातुर्येण वपुःश्रिया गतिपतिं कीर्त्या त्रियामापतिम् ॥
 औदार्यातिशयेन कर्णनृपतिं न्यायेन सीतापतिं
 गाम्भीर्येण सरित्पतिं विजयते श्रीमोकलोर्वीपतिः ॥ १७ ॥
 तस्याङ्गजो जगद्गङ्गिजतदिव्यतेजाः श्रीमान्नवार्क इव राजति कुम्भकर्णः ॥
 विन्यस्य यः क्षितिभृतां शिरांसं स्वपादान्दूरास्तदुर्णयतमा भुवनं पुनरिति ॥ १८ ॥
 लाटः खिद्यल्लाटः कटरटनपटुः भोटभूपः प्रदाता
 कर्णाटः पूःकपाटं मुखपटुघाटनस्वाङ्गुलिर्जाङ्गलेन्द्रः ॥
 नश्वद्रङ्गः कलिङ्गः कुरुकुरुविनयो मालवः कालवक्त्र-
 स्त्यक्तौजा गूर्जरेन्द्रः समजनि जयिनस्तस्य राज्ञः प्रयाणे ॥ १९ ॥
 उच्छेत्तुं कमलं न कण्टकमलं मित्रोपकारार्दाप
 स्वस्यापीति ततोऽपसृत्य कमला निष्कण्टकां मेदिनीम् ॥
 कुर्वाणं स्वयमेव पाणिनकमलं शिश्राय यस्यानिशं
 नम्रानेकमहीपतिः स जयाति श्राकुम्भपृथ्वीपतिः ॥ २० ॥
 अस्त्वद्भुतः क्षितिधरः किल चित्रकूटस्तेनावनीमघवता परिपाल्यमानः ॥
 श्रीमेदपाटघरणीतरुणीललाटपट्टं स्फुटं मुकुटतामुपटांकते यः ॥ २१ ॥
 नानाविकस्वरमिताम्बजराजितान
 राजन्ति निर्मलपयाभि सरांसि यत्र ॥
 जाने यदुन्नतविहारविदीर्गमर्ने-
 व्योम्नश्च्युतानि शकलानि सतारकाणि ॥ २२ ॥
 तीर्थाधारतयारिदुर्गमतयात्र यद्भुतत्वेन वा
 स्पर्धो भो विदधात यः सह मया सद्यः समायातु मः ॥
 इत्याकारयतीव निम्नररवैरुर्वीधरान्यः परा
 न्कीर्तिस्तम्भामधेण दृष्टमननं प्रातम्भ्य वादोन्मनाः ॥ २३ ॥
 व्योमाङ्गणादनवलम्बानवागजान-
 खेदेव देवनगरं यदुपन्यसायाम ॥
 चक्रेऽवतारमवनौ नगर-छत्रं
 निश्रेणिदण्डमिव यं गिरिमाकलय ॥ २४ ॥
 वार्तापि तापावषयात्र कथं प्रजानां

श्रीकुम्भकर्णपृथिवीपतिरद्भुतौजाः ॥
 छित्वा यतः क्षितिभृतामभितोऽपि वंशा-
 नेकातपत्रमयमत्र तनोति राज्यम् ॥ २५ ॥
 श्रीमानूकेशवंशः स जयति परमां विभ्रदौन्नत्यलक्ष्मीं
 सच्छायः प्रांशुशाखाप्रकरपरिगतो विश्वविश्रामभूमिः ॥
 उत्पन्नस्तत्र मुक्तामणिरिव विमलस्त्रासमुक्तः सुवृत्तः
 पूर्वं शोभां महेभ्यः पुरमिदमनयद्वीसलः शालितेजाः ॥ २६ ॥
 देदाह्वयः कृतनयप्रणयः प्रतीतः
 स्फीतप्रभः सुविनयस्तनयस्तदीयः ॥
 राकाशशङ्काविशदापि सतां मनांसि
 रक्तानि यस्य गुणपङ्क्तिरहो व्यधत् ॥ २७ ॥
 आल्हादयन्कुवलयं धनगलसाधुः
 सिन्धोरिवेन्दुरुदियाय ततः कलावान् ॥
 धात्रा च गूर्जरधराभरणं क्रमेण
 कर्णावतीं दिवमिवैष पुरां व्यभूषत् ॥ २८ ॥
 जगदङ्गणरङ्गत्तरयशस्तरङ्गास्तदङ्गजा विदिताः ॥
 साङ्गणगोदासमराचाचाख्याश्चारुचार्तुयाः ॥ २९ ॥
 तत्रागण्य स कर्णवर्णितगुणः कर्णावतीभूषण-
 श्चाचाकः सकलप्रभावकनृणां चूडामणिर्दियुते ॥
 तैस्तैराहृतशासनस्य सुकृतैः श्रीनार्थयात्रादिकै-
 र्यः शोभामनिभां बभार नभसो भास्वानिवाभीशुभिः ॥ ३० ॥
 क्रीडागृहमिव पण्यश्रीणां देवालयं विशालयशः ॥
 आशापल्लीपुर्यामयं मुदा कारयामास ॥ ३१ ॥
 तस्य प्रथमा पत्नी लार्डास्तस्याह्वयः सुताः प्रथिताः ॥
 वीजडसामलपूनानामानः स्फीतमहिमानः ॥ ३२ ॥
 सौन्दर्यमन्दिरमजायत तस्य मुक्ता-
 देवी तु देवगुरुभक्तिपरा द्वितीया ॥
 अस्या विभूषणविधिव्यवहारमात्र-
 मासीदसीमगुणरत्नविभूषितायाः ॥ ३३ ॥
 तत्कुक्षिसरसीहंसाः सदाचारणचारवः ॥
 विवेकिनः सुता जाताश्चत्वारः प्रथिता अमी ॥ ३४ ॥
 आद्यः श्रीगुणराजसाधुराधिपः श्रीभारतीयोषितो-

राम्बाकः कलिकालजैत्रचरित्रः^३ ख्यातो द्वितीयस्तथा ॥
 लम्बाकश्च तृतीयकः स्वधिषणावज्ञातवाचस्पति-
 स्तेजस्वी जयताङ्गयः पुनरयं तुर्यः समर्थादधीः ॥ ३५ ॥
 गुणवर्याः सोदर्याश्चत्वारोऽमी त एव रामाद्याः ॥
 भुवमिव पुनरवतीर्णाः कालकौणपविपुतामवितुम् ॥ ३६ ॥
 गङ्गादेर्माणिकदेहेमादेवी तथा च जगमादः ॥
 अनुपमगुणाभिरामाः कमादिमाः प्रियतमास्तेषाम् ॥ ३७ ॥
 तेषु श्रीगुणराजसाधुरभवच्छ्रीशासनोद्भासन-
 व्यग्री जाग्रदभङ्गभाग्यावभवः सौभाग्यलालागृहम् ॥
 सर्वाङ्गीणतया प्रसन्नहृदयः श्रीगूर्जरोर्वीपति-
 नित्यं पल्लवितो लतामेव मधुर्यस्य प्रतिष्ठां व्यधात् ॥ ३८ ॥
 मुक्तामयं वपुरयं दधदिद्वतेजाः
 शोभां न केवलमपेतमलो निजस्य ॥
 वंशस्य द्वार इव सारगुणश्चकार
 श्रीपातसाहि^४दसोऽपि सुवर्णशाला ॥ ३९ ॥
 निर्विघ्नं सर्वदा सर्वधर्मकार्याणि कुर्वता ॥
 कलेर्गले बलनैव वामस्तेन ददे कमः^५ ॥ ४० ॥
 अयं न केषां हृदयं तनोति सविस्मयं श्रीगुणराजसाधुः ॥
 प्रत्यर्थिनां प्रत्यहमर्थिनां च तनान यो दानममानमानः ॥ ४१ ॥
 भूयः कृतार्थीभवदर्थिसाथप्रमोदवाप्यप्रवजातपङ्कम् ॥
 न जातु तस्याङ्गणमाहरोह स्वप्नेऽप्यलक्ष्मीरिव पातभीता ॥ ४२ ॥
 बुद्धया समृद्धया विनयेन विद्यया शौर्येण धैर्येण तथा प्रतिष्ठया ॥
 त्यागेन भारयेन न कोऽपि भूतलं तुलामलामीदृणराजसाधुना ॥ ४३ ॥
 आद्यां सप्तशराणंवावनिमिते (१४५७) वर्षे द्वितीयां पुन-
 र्हस्तर्तु (६२) प्रामते महोत्सवभरभ्राजिष्णुसङ्केन सः ॥
 श्रीशत्रुञ्जयरैवताचलमहाश्रुतीर्थयात्रां मुदा
 चक्रे शक्रसमद्युतिजिनमतं प्रौढं परां प्रापयन् ॥ ४४ ॥
 शस्यः कस्य न शुद्धशीस्तदनुजः साधुः स आन्नाभिघः
 सौन्दर्यास्तरति विहाय युवतिं प्रौढां समृद्धिं च ताम् ॥
 रूपश्रीविजितस्मरं तद्वणिमोत्कर्षेऽप्युपात्तव्रते

^३ Read चरितः. ^४ The word कम seems to have been here used in the
 sense of verse ३. ^५ The first pada of this stanza offends against the metre.

यं नामैव विष्णुस्तस्मिन् श्रीस्यूलभद्रा जगुः ॥ ४५ ॥
तत्त्व श्रीगुरुदेवसुन्दरारिरा नृद्धस्य शुद्धात्मनो
विश्वाख्यकरानचीकरदसौ शस्यास्तपस्यान्महान् ॥
तत्र श्रीमुनिसुन्दराभिधगुरु वर्षे शरर्तु (६५) प्रमे
प्रत्यष्टापयदेश पाठकपदे प्रष्ठः प्रतिष्ठावताम् ॥ ४६ ॥
नागादेशजदीनदुर्गतजनप्राञ्चान्नदानायुधैः
अत्रागारणाङ्गणे प्रगुणितैर्वर्षे गजर्तुप्रमे (६८) ॥
कुर्मिक्षप्रतिपन्निय कृतजगज्जन्तुव्यथ दुर्मर्थं
जित्वा धर्मभृतां वरो जयरमा पाणौ करोति स्म सः ॥ ४७ ॥
श्रुद्ध्युक्तभीजिनधर्मराज्यां कुर्वन्स सोभारकर्तार्थयात्राम् ॥
वर्षेऽन्तरिक्षाश्व(७०) मिते चकार यात्रां नु जैत्रीं कलिकालशत्रोः ॥ ४८ ॥
आतन्वानः प्रतिपदमय धर्मसाघ्राज्यमुच्य -
भव्याजात्मा प्रगुणितबहुग्रामसङ्घा अनर्घ्याः ॥
जीरापल्यबुंदमुखमहातीर्थयात्राः पवित्रा-
शक्नेऽनेका नवनवमहैः सूत्रितामात्रचित्राः ॥ ४९ ॥
तात्किञ्चिद्गुणराजसाधुरतुलै श्राधर्मकृत्यैर्यश-
स्तेने पार्वणशर्वरीश्वरमहः श्रीगर्वसर्वकषम् ॥
चित्रं येन महोज्ज्वल जनयताप्युर्वीतलं सर्वतो-
ऽशेषद्वेषवतां मुखानि नितरां मालिन्यमानेन्द्रेर ॥ ५० ॥
सङ्गाधिपस्य यशसां शरदिन्दुभासां
पुकुजैरिवोरुचमरंरूपवीज्यमानैः ॥
उद्घोषयद्भिरिव कीर्तिभरं तदीयं
बाद्यैर्जगन्ति निनदाद्वयतां नयद्भिः ॥ ५१ ॥
सेवायेऽन्तर्धाननीतविमानमानै-
दैवाल्यैर्दशभिरद्भुतजातशोभीम् ॥
शीघर्मभूपातिवृतां दशादिग्जयश्री-
लीलां तु जक्रममणीमयकेलिगेहे ॥ ५२ ॥
आंसोमसुन्दरगुप्प्रवरैः सनाथां
निर्मूलक्षुप्तकलिदुर्लेहितप्रमाथाम् ॥
भीपातसाहिपुरमाणबलेन सर्व-
स्थानेषु संमुखसमागतशास्त्रभूमाम् ॥ ५३ ॥

गीतिका ॥ श्रीसुन्दराराजीन्द्रोऽब्धिलोकमणिता भुवि सुत्रवन्तीम् ॥

तुर्वे युगेऽपि जनिताययुगावतारां श्रीविक्रमान्मुनिहवाविचमहोभिते ॥ ५४ ॥

श्रीगूर्जरादिबहुदेशमहेभ्यसंघा-

नाकार्यं शौर्यजलधिर्गुणराजसाधुः ॥

साक्षाच्चकार भरतं विमलाचलादि-

यात्राममात्रमहिमा रचयंस्तृतीयाम् ॥ ५५ ॥

पञ्चभिः कुलकम् ॥

तस्यां रजः स्वन्दनचक्रचक्रसमुद्धृतं व्याप दिशां मुक्तानि ॥

मालिन्यपङ्कः पुनरुन्मिल चित्रं तदीर्घ्यासजुषां मुखेषु ॥ ५६ ॥

रक्तचुरज्जमसहस्रसुरोद्धताभिस्तस्यां नभस्यनगुरेणुभिरावृतेऽपि ॥

चित्रं प्रतापतरणिर्गुणराजसाधोर्देदीप्यते स्म परितोऽप्यधिकप्रकाशः ॥ ५७ ॥

जिनसद्यसु तत्र यष्टिभिः पटुनिस्वानततिः स्म कुप्यते ॥

कलिकालमहीपतेः पुनर्हृदयेन स्फुटितं महान्धुतम् ॥ ५८ ॥

नानानीवृदुपागतानवाधिकश्रीसङ्घसमानना-

दिव्यानेकदुकूलदानाविधप्राज्यान्नपानादिकैः ॥

निस्सीमैर्निरमीमपन्नधुमतीपुर्यामनुच्छोत्सवै-

स्तस्यां श्रीजिनसुन्दराभिधगुरोः सूरिप्रतिष्ठामसौ ॥ ५९ ॥

दानायद्भुततत्तदुत्सवपरैः सङ्गाधिपैस्तन्मुखै-

र्देवेन्द्रैरिव दिव्यवेषसुभगैरिभ्यैरमर्त्यैरिव ॥

तस्यां तजिनमञ्जुमज्जनविधिः श्रीरैवतः पर्वतः

स्फूर्जबैनजतुमहः सुरगिरिं न स्मारयामास किम् ॥ ६० ॥

कां कां श्रीगुणराजसङ्घपतये स्तोत्रोपदां कुर्महे

तत्तद्वर्मगुणप्रयोगवशतः स्वं धारयित्वा दृढम् ॥

प्रत्येबोत्तमचित्तगुप्तिषु धृतान्यो मोचयामासिवान्

श्रीसारङ्गकुमारसम्प्रतिनृपश्रीवस्तुपालादिकान् ॥ ६१ ॥

आतः किं कलिकाल कालवदनः किं दुष्पमे दुःखिता

विघ्नाः किं भयनिघ्नतां भजय किं तृष्णेऽसि कृष्णानन ॥

जानीषे किमु नो सखेऽलिलजत्य (?) स्माकमुज्जृम्भितं

सर्वेषां गुणराजसङ्घपतिना निर्मूलमुन्मीलितम् ॥ ६२ ॥

प्रख्याप्यते कथमयं नयनोदयश्री-

रस्तोकयाचकजनाञ्जलिशुक्तिकासु ॥

येः स्वातिवृष्टिमुपकल्प्य यशस्ततान
 मुक्तोऽज्ज्वलं सकलविश्वमलङ्कुरिष्णु ॥ ६३ ॥
 युक्तं गभीरिमगृहं गुणराजसाधुः
 स्फार्तिं परामधित नित्यमयं न दीनः ॥
 यस्य प्रकाशमभितो जनयन्ति गावः
 श्रीसोमसुन्दरगुरोः सततोदयस्य ॥ ६४ ॥
 व्यालुप्तदर्शनबलः कलिविप्लुताजा
 ज्यायानमज्जचरणः शरणप्रहीणः ॥
 हस्तावलम्बमधिगम्य विरादमुष्य
 धर्मः क्षमोऽजनिं विहर्तुमहं¹⁰ जगत्याम् ॥ ६५ ॥
 राजान्ति पञ्च तनया गुणराजसाधोः
 ख्याताः सुमेरुवदभङ्गुरगौगवाद्याः ॥
 सन्नन्दना स्थिरतया कलिताः सभद्र-
 शालाः सुवर्णवपुषः सुमनोनिषेव्याः ॥ ६६ ॥
 तत्रादिमो गज इति प्रार्थताभिधानो
 दानोपशोभितकस्य महोन्नतस्य ॥
 भद्रात्मकस्य कमर्नायगतेर्विशाल-
 वंशस्य यस्य गजताऽनुगुणेव जज्ञे ॥ ६७ ॥
 चातुर्यधैर्यादिभिर्द्वितीयो गुणैर्द्वितीया माहराजनामा ॥
 देवादयं यौवनवर्तमानः स्वस्त्रैणनेत्रातिथितामवाप ॥ ६८ ॥
 धर्मोन्नतिं वितनुतेऽद्भुतभाग्यभङ्गि-
 बालाद्वय¹¹ शुभाधयां निलयस्तृतीयः ॥
 श्रीमोकलः क्षितिपतिर्बहु मन्यते स्म
 यं चित्रकूटवसतिं व्यवसायहेतोः ॥ ६९ ॥
 कालूः प्रभावकपथे पथिकश्च तुर्यः
 ख्यातश्चतुर्षु पुरुषार्थावधिष्वमन्दः ॥
 यं शैशवेऽपि पुरुषोत्तममालिलिङ्ग
 गाढानुरागवशगेव महत्स्वलक्ष्मीः ॥ ७० ॥
 पञ्चमो विजयते ऽयमीश्वरः सर्वदा कलितसर्वमङ्गलः ॥
 यो जिगाथ मदनं निजयता रज्यते च वृषभासनेऽनिशम् ॥
 एते गुणराजसुता जयन्ति विदिता विशुद्धगुणकलिताः ॥
 10 Read 'मयं. 11 Read 'भङ्गिर्बाला.'

• असमानदानललिताः प्रशस्तचरिताः मदाभ्युदिताः ॥ ७२ ॥

गङ्गेव शस्या न हि कस्य गङ्गादेवीत नान्ना गुणराजभार्या ॥

यस्याः प्रवाहा इव सूनवाऽर्मा स्वर्णाश्रयाद्या भुवनं पुनन्ति ॥ ७३ ॥

आम्बाकस्याभवत्सूनुरनृना गुणसंपदा ॥

सुमनोजनसंमान्यो मनाकः सुकृतान्मनाः ॥ ७४ ॥

यशस्वी जयताकस्य तनयो विनयोऽज्ज्वलः ॥

जिनराजसतीभक्तिर्जिनराजो विराजते ॥ ७५ ॥

इतश्च ॥

सिद्धयै श्रीवर्धमानप्रथमगणधरो गौतमः सत्तमश्रीः

सिद्धान्तस्वर्गिसिन्धोस्तुहर्तागिरिर्था पञ्चमः श्रीसुधर्मा ॥

जम्बूरम्बूपमानस्तदनु शमवने दिद्युतऽथ क्रमेण

श्रीवज्रस्वामिनामा गृहरवगणितस्वर्गिरिगौरवेण ॥ ७६ ॥

विख्यातस्तस्य शाखातलकनविकलोल्लाससंघेगरङ्गः

सूरिः शोभामदम्भां जिनमतमनयच्छ्रीजगन्मन्दनामा ॥

स्वच्छैः श्रीचन्द्रगच्छं जगदिनिर्गर्भं दुस्तपस्तैस्तपोभिः

क्षोणौ ख्यातिं तपोति क्षि त ततिजानतां प्रापयामासिवान्यः ॥ ७७ ॥

श्रीमान्देवेन्द्रसूरिः ¹²प्रसरदमहा भामयामास भाखा-

स्तपष्टप्राच्यशैलं द्वादश दिशः कमलोल्लासनेऽलम्भविष्णुः ॥

अद्यापि ग्रन्थसार्थः किरणनिकरवान्निर्माते यदाय-

श्चित्रं देदीप्यमानः शिवपुरादवीः सर्वतः सप्रकाशाः ॥ ७८ ॥

सम्यक्त्वं प्रतिपाद्य गोमयमर शत्रुञ्जये स्थापय-

न्नित्ये प्रौढिमौ ततो जिनमतं श्राद्धर्मघोषः प्रभुः ॥

विद्योन्मादिकुवादिनां मदगदपम्मारानस्मारणे

यो धन्वन्तरितां दधार बहुधा मिर्द्धादिधानोऽद्भुताः ॥ ७९ ॥

श्रीसोमप्रभसूरयः शुशुभिरं शोभाप्रशस्तपदे

सूत्रार्थोभयशालिनी प्रातःकल कण्ठं लुठन्तीतमा ॥

मुक्तावालिरीवोज्ज्वला सुभगतामेकादशाङ्गी तथा

यात्रिन्ये जगदुत्तमत्वकमला वेत्रं स्वयं सा यथा ॥ ८० ॥

तत्पट्टैकललाम सोमालकः गुरिस्ततां दिद्युते

¹³धावानूत्रनिचित्रशास्त्ररचने श्वेताम्बरार्थाश्वरः ॥

एकच्छत्रमसूत्रयत्त्रिजगति श्रीधर्मभूमीभुजः

साम्राज्यं दुरपोहमोहनृपतिं निर्जित्य यो धैर्यभूः ॥ ८१ ॥
 तेजःश्रीवसतिस्तपामणसमुद्रासैकनिष्णस्ततो
 दीपोऽदीप्यत देवसुन्दरगुरुः श्रेयोदशाभासुरः ॥
 श्रीधर्माहृतशासनं कलिनिशि प्राकाशयद्यस्तथा
 जज्ञे मन्ददशामपि स्फुटतया सद्यः सुदर्शं यथा ॥ ८२ ॥
 तत्पहपूर्वगिरिमण्डनचण्डभासः श्रीसामसुन्दरगुरुप्रभवो जयन्ति ॥
 विश्वत्रयोत्तमगुणैर्जिनशासनं यैः प्रत्याप्तगौतमामव प्रतिभासतेऽद्य ॥ ८३ ॥
 शृण्वन्धर्मसमाया गुरुराज इमाञ्चराज गुणराजः¹⁴ ॥
 श्रीहेमाचार्योनिव कुमारपालः क्षमापालः ॥ ८४ ॥
 धर्मां श्रीगुणराजमानसभुवि स्फार्ति न कां कां परां
 सच्छायं फलशालिपुण्यविपिनं विश्वैकविश्रामदम् ॥
 तैस्तैः श्रीवरसोमसुन्दरगुरोर्यत्पुण्यवाक्यमृतै-
 ल्लोकं प्रीणयनागमप्रसृमरैः¹⁵ सेषिच्यते सर्वतः ॥ ८५ ॥
 उच्चैर्मण्डपपङ्क्तिदेवकुलिकाविस्तरिमाणश्रियं
 कीर्तिस्तम्भसमीपवर्तिनममु श्रीचित्रकूटावधे ॥
 प्रासादं स्रजतः प्रसादमसम श्रामोकलोर्वीपते-
 रादेशाङ्गुणराजसाधुरमितस्वर्द्ध्योदधार्षीन्मुदा ॥ ८६ ॥
 नानान्तरायतिमिराणि निहन्तुमत्र
 यस्योद्यमस्तरुणतिग्मकरांचकार ॥
 बालाभिधोऽस्य तनयः सनयश्चिरायु-
 रस्तु प्रशस्तगुणसंपदकम्पकीर्तिः ॥ ८७ ॥
 नेत्राणाममृताजनं त्रिजगतः श्रीचित्रकूटाचला-
 लङ्कारः सविहार उज्ज्वलवर्णभ्राजतेऽभ्रालिहः ॥
 जाने श्रीगुणराजसाधुयशसां विश्वेऽप्यमातामयं
 पिण्डीभूय महोच्छ्रयः समृद्धयः स्थेमानमास्तिष्ठते ॥ ८८ ॥
 अस्य त्रिलोकैकविलोकनीयां सौन्दर्यलक्ष्मीमवलोकमानः ॥
 व्याक्षिप्तचेता इव सप्तसाप्तर्द्ध्यं दिने याति विलम्बमानः ॥ ८९ ॥
 मूर्तोऽयं किमु सोमसुन्दरगुरोः पुण्योपदेशोच्चयः
 प्राप्तो वा गुणराजसाधुसकृतस्नोमः किमध्यक्षताम् ॥
 पिण्डीकृत्य सुधारसः सुकृतिनां वृक्षपारणेवोन्नत-

¹⁴ The line, as it stands, is puzzling. The following restoration may be suggested as probable: शृण्वन्धर्मसमाया गुणराज इमाञ्चराज गुरुराजान् ॥ ¹⁵ Read प्रीणयद्वावम्.⁹

स्थानेऽस्यापि जगत्कृतेतिकृतिभिर्नो तदर्थते कैरवम् ॥ ९० ॥
 तत्र श्रीविष्णोः प्रतीतिरैरत्यद्भुतैरुत्सवै-
 नैव्यां श्रीवरसोमसुन्दरगुरुप्रभैः प्रतिष्ठापिताम् ॥
 वर्षे श्रीगुणराजसाधुतनयाः पञ्चाष्टरत्नप्रमे
 न्यास्थन्त प्रतिमामिमामनुपमां श्रीवर्धमानप्रभोः ॥ ९१ ॥
 शोभावन्ध्यः स विन्ध्यः सुरगुरु * * * नोषकूटक्षिकूटः
 कैलासश्चाविलासो हिमगिरिरमहान्त्वामनाभः सुनाभः ॥
 मैनाकः पाकरूपः सकलवसुमतीदत्तनेत्रप्रसादे
 प्रासादे द्योतमाने रविरथतुरगप्राप्तविश्रान्तिकेऽस्मिन् ॥ ९२ ॥
 रागद्वेषजितो जिनस्य विजयस्तम्भौ किमुत्तम्भितौ
 पारावारदुरन्तदुर्गतियुगोत्ताराय सेतू किमु ॥
 किं बोधैर्त्रिदवापवर्गगमने निश्रंणिदण्डाविमौ
 कीर्तिस्तम्भमर्मु च वीक्ष्य विदधत्येवं विकल्पात्र के ॥ ९३ ॥
 सोपानपद्धतिमिमामधिदृष्ट्वा भव्याः
 स्वर्गापवर्गभवनेषु सुखं रमध्वम् ॥
 इत्येष वक्ति किल हस्तमृदरय कीर्ति-
 स्तम्भच्छलेन निनदैरिव किङ्किणीनाम् ॥ ९४ ॥
 प्राग्वंशस्य ललाम मण्डपगिरिं शोभां नयन्नैष्ठिक-
 प्रष्टः प्रत्यहमष्टधा जिनपतेः पूजाः स्रजन् द्वादश ॥
 सद्वाधीशकुमारपालसुकृती कैलासलक्ष्मीहृतौ
 दक्षं दक्षिणतोऽस्य सोदरमिव प्रासादमादीधपत् ॥ ९५ ॥
 ऊकेशवंशतिलकः सुकृतोत्तेजा-
 स्तेजात्मजः प्रतिवसन्निह चित्रकूटे ॥
 चान्चाह्वयः सुजनलोचनदत्तशैल्यं
 चैत्यं च चारु निरर्मीमपदुत्तरस्याम् ॥ ९६ ॥
 सर्वप्रागजिता कीर्तिगुणराजस्य गर्जतु ॥
 येन श्रीधर्मसाम्राज्यमसृज्यत कलौ युगे ॥ ९७ ॥
 यः कल्लोलवतीपतेः कलयितुं कल्लोलमालां प्रभु-
 निष्णातश्च नभोगणे गणयितुं यस्तारकाणां गणम् ॥
 यो मातुं सिकताकर्णांश्च सरितां शक्तः स एव ध्रुवं
 संस्थातुं गुणराजसाधुविहितश्रीधर्मकार्वाण्यलम् ॥ ९८ ॥
 तेजस्विनो विजयिनो गुणराजसुता जयन्तु चिरमेते ॥

श्रीजिनशासनसौधे स्तम्भा इव ये विभासन्ते ॥ ९९ ॥

यद्विद्यानां विनेया यदुरुगुणनुनेराननान्युत्तमानां

श्राद्धा यद्वोधशक्तेः सकलवसुमती यद्यशामण्डलस्य ॥

ब्राह्मी यत्प्रौढिमोक्तेर्गुरुरापि मरुतां तत्त्ववादस्य येषां

यद्बुद्धेर्बौध्यभावा न हि विषयतया यान्ति पर्याप्तियोगम् ॥ १०० ॥

शिष्यः प्रशस्तिमेतां तेषां श्रीसोममुन्दरगुरूणाम् ॥

शरनिधिमनु (१४९५) मितवर्षे चक्र चारित्ररत्नगणिः ॥ १०१ ॥

लक्षस्य सूत्रदक्षस्य नन्दनो नारदः प्रशस्तिमिमाम् ॥

उत्कीर्णवान्सुवर्णां लिखितां संवेगजयान्तना ॥ १०२ ॥

श्रीचित्रकूटाचलमौलिमौलिरमोघितोर्वीजनदृष्टिसृष्टिः ॥

देयादमेयाः शरदः प्रमोदं सतां महावारविहारराजः ॥ १०३ ॥

यावल्लीलां विधत्ते सततमुदयिर्भर्तुस्ततजः प्रतानै-

र्युक्ता मुक्तावलीयं हृदि विशदगुणा सिद्धिलक्ष्मीस्मिताक्ष्याः¹⁶ ॥

प्रासादस्तावदेषोऽभ्युदयतु विदुषां हृषमेषा प्रशस्ति-

र्दत्तां धत्तां नितान्तं जिनमतमदय प्रीयतां सर्वशोकः ॥ १०४ ॥

इति श्रीचित्रकूटदुर्गमहावीरप्रासादप्रशस्तिश्च चारुचक्रचूडामणि-

महोपाध्यायश्रीचारित्ररत्नगणिभिर्विराचता ॥

संवत् १५०८ प्रजापतिसंवत्सरे देवगिरौ महाराजधान्यामिदं प्रशस्तिरलेखि ॥

*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,
and a List of Presents to the Library.*

1907.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 30th March 1908.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.
The Honorary Secretary read the following report.

The Annual Report for 1907.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—During the year under review 40 New Members were elected and 1 Non-Resident Member came to Bombay and was added to the list of Resident Members; 28 Members resigned, 1 retired, 2 died, and 4 having left Bombay, were placed on the list of Non-Resident Members. The total number at the end of the year was 326, including Life Members. The number at the close of the preceding year was 323.

Non-Resident.—15 New Members joined under this class and 4 were transferred from the list of Resident Members. 8 Members withdrew, the name of 1 Member was removed from the Roll for non-payment of subscription and 1 became a Resident Member. The number on the Roll at the close of the year was 105 against 96 in the preceding year.

OBITUARY.

The Society regrets to announce the loss by death, during the year, of the following Members :—

RESIDENT.

R. R. Ross, Esq.

J. Stanley Smith, Esq.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The papers contributed to the Society during the year were :—

The Nasik Hoard of Nahapana's Coins.

By the Rev. H. R. Scott, M A.

The Coins of Surat.

By the Rev. G. P. Taylor, M A., D.D.

A Few Notes on Broach from an antiquarian point of view.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq., B.A.

Parāsariya Dharma Śāstra.

By the late Shamrao Vithal, Esq.

Communicated by the President.

LIBRARY.

The issues of books during the year under report were 45,812 volumes ; 34,645 of new books including periodicals and 11,167 of old. The daily average, excluding Sundays and holidays, was 150 volumes. The issue in the preceding year was 45,106.

A detailed statement of the monthly issues is sub-joined :—

MONTHLY ISSUES.

					<i>Old Books.</i>	<i>New Books.</i>
January ...	...	...	...	...	1,318	4,341
February ...	...	...	...	...	1,036	3,838
March ...	..	...	...	...	1,161	3,275
April ...	...	...	...	...	1,050	3,902
May ...	...	...	...	...	905	2,931
June ..	...	...	...	...	957	2,129
July ...	...	...	...	...	864	2,964
August ...	...	...	...	...	879	2,775
September ...	..	...	...	...	869	2,308
October ...	...	...	...	...	822	2,569
November ...	...	...	...	...	564	2,059
December ...	...	...	...	...	1,042	1,554
					<hr/>	<hr/>
					11,167	34,645

The issues of each class of books, new and old, are noted below :—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes.</i>
Fiction	19,871
Biography	1,901
Miscellaneous, Collected Works and Essays ...	1,446
History	1,413
Voyages, Travels, &c.	1,405
Oriental Literature	720
Poetry and Drama... ..	502
Naval and Military	495
Religion	430
Politics, Political Economy, &c.	404
Literary History	383

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes</i>
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of Learned Societies (in bound volumes)	372
Foreign Literature... ..	310
Art, Architecture	303
Natural History, Biology, Geology, &c. ...	291
Philosophy	284
Archæology, Antiquities, &c.	190
Govt. Publications, Public Records	147
Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, &c.	140
Botany, Agriculture	130
Classics	117
Medicine, Surgery, &c.	108
Law	92
Grammars, Dictionaries, &c.	5
Logic, Works relating to Education	47
Periodicals in loose numbers	14,236
Total	45,812

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total number of Volumes added to the Library during the year was 1,715, of which 1,306 were purchased and 409 were received as presents.

Presents of books were as usual received from the Bombay Government, the Government of India, the Secretary of State for India, and the other local Governments; and also from the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Funds and individual authors and donors.

The number of Volumes of each class of books acquired by purchase and presentation is shown in the following table:—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes Purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes Presented.</i>
Religion and Theology	22	...
Philosophy	18	...
Logic, Rhetoric and Works relating to Education	11	...
Classics and Translations	22	...
Bibliography, Literary History, &c. ...	23	...
History	68	5
Politics, Political Economy, Trade and Commerce	49	4
Law ... ..	...	14

ABSTRACT OF THE SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS.

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes Purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes Presented.</i>
Government Publications and Public		
Records		137
Biography	75	2
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics,		
Heraldry	61	9
Voyages, Travels, Topography, &c. ...	82	85
Poetry and Drama	15	...
Fiction	381	...
Foreign Literature	20	...
Miscellaneous, Collected Works,		
Essays, &c.	58	4
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics,		
and Astronomy	4	14
Art, Architecture, Music, &c.	22	1
Naval and Military	22	...
Natural History, Zoology Geology	27	6
Botany, Horticulture and Agricul-		
ture	4	3
Medicine, Surgery, Physiology	11	1
Annuals, Serials, Transactions of		
Learned Societies	208	92
Dictionaries, Grammars, &c.	14	...
Oriental Literature	89	32
	1,306	409

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The papers, periodicals, journals and transactions of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during 1907 were:—
English Newspapers—

Daily	2
Weekly	25
Monthly Magazines	31
Quarterly Magazines	22
Annual Publications, Almanacks, Directories. Year	
Books, &c.	16
Supplements to Illustrated and other Papers	12
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	10
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals	11
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes	23
Indian and Asiatic Journals, Reviews, &c....	30

At a General Meeting of the Society held in November for the revision of the list of Newspapers and Periodicals in accordance with article XX of the Rules it was resolved to subscribe to the following :—

Modern Review,
 Madras Review,
 The New Asiatic Monthly Journal,
 Indian Educational Journal,
 Indian Social Reformer
 and to discontinue
 Engineering,
 London, Edinburgh and Dublin Philosophical Magazine,
 Political Science (Quarterly),
 O. M. Fur den Orient.

COIN CABINET.

During 1906 the number of coins added to the Society's Cabinet was 187: 1 Gold, 46 Silver, 30 Copper and 111 Brass. Of the Total 187, 32 were presented by the Bombay Government; 2 by the Bengal Government; 9 by the Punjab Government; 5 by the Government of U. P.; 2 by the Government of Madras; 1 by the Government of East Bengal and Assam; 21 by the Government of C. P. and 4 by the Political Agent, Rajputana, under the Treasure Trove Act. and 111 brass coins were purchased from the Collector of Bijapur. The description of the coins is as follows :—

Ancient India.

Coins of Nahapana, the first king of the Western Kshatrapa Dynasty, Silver 22.

Found at Jogeltembe, Nasik District.

Indo—Scythian

Later Kushan

Shaka, Gold 1.

Found in the Peshawar District, N. W. F. Province.

Mediæval India.

Gaddhya, Silver 1.

Found in the Ajmere district. Rajputana.

Chahad Deva

(Narwar Dynasty). Copper 1.

Found in the Manipur District, Garhwal, U. P.

Larins.

Silver Wire Coins. 5

Found in Saitawde, Ratnagiri District.

Pathan Kings of Delhi.

Muhammad bin Tughlak. Brass 111.

Found in the village of Jagjeevani, Indi Taluka, Bijapur District.

Ghias-ud-din Tughlak Copper 2.

Firuz Shah Copper 1.

Firuz Shah & Fath Khan Copper 1.

Found in the Manipur District, U. P.

Mogul Emperors.

Shah Jahan Silver 1.

Aurangzib Silver 1.

Found in Tando Bago Taluka, Hyderabad District, Sind.

Aurangzib Copper 1.

Found in the Wun District, C. P.

Ahmad Shah Bahadur Silver 1.

Found in the Saran District, Bengal.

Shah Alam II. Silver 1.

Found in Faridpur District, East Bengal.

Shah Alam II. Silver 1.

Found in the Jabalpure District.

Bahamani Kings of Kulbarga.

Muhammad Shah bin Humayun Shah Copper 4.

Ala-ud-din Ahmed Shah II. Copper 4.

Humayun Shah bin Ahmad Shah. Copper 2.

Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad Shah. Copper 1.

Ahmad Shah I. Copper 2.

Muhammad Shah bin Muhammad Shah. Copper 1.

Ahmad Shah bin Humayun Shah. Copper 1.

Found in the Betal District, C. P.

Kings of Bengal.

Ala-ud-din Husain Shah Silver 1.

Found in the Murshidabad District, Bengal.

Modern India.

Native States of India, with fragmentary inscription of parts of coin-legends of later Moghul Emperors. Silver 1.

Do. do. do. Copper 1.

Chhatrapati coin—bearing name of Shivaji. Copper 1

Found in Jamkhed, Ahmednagar District.

Native States. Copper 3.

Found in the Wun District, C. P.

Native States of the Punjab.

- Guru Govind Singh. Silver 7.
 Found in the Gujranwala District, Punjab.
 Do. do. Silver 1.
 Found in the Amritsar District.

Coins of the French Compagnie des Indes.

- Doudous or Dudous. Copper 2.
 Found at Kuntalur, South Arcot District, Madras.

Miscellaneous Mahomedan.

- Early Musalman Governors of Sind. Silver 3.
 Found in the Ajmere District.
 Saif-ud-din Hasan Quarlugh. Copper 1.
 Found in the Gujranwala District, Punjab.

Besides coins the Society obtained during the year from Collectors of different Districts in the Presidency the following objects of antiquarian interest :—

A monumental tablet, with three panels.

From Bijapur.

Do. do. with four panels.
 From Hebsur, Dharwar

Do. do. with five panels.
 From Dharwar.

A fragment of a white stone slab bearing rows of small sitting figures of Jaina Tirthankars.

From Badami.

A block containing mutilated figure of Shiva and Parvati ; a mutilated figure of Brahma with four faces ; the head of a figure (probably Parvati) with a high ornamental cap ; a broken image of Parvati as Mahishasurmathani and broken parts of images of Shiva and Parvati.

From Elephanta.

A stone bearing an inscription of the Silahar dynasty, dated Samvat 1223 (A. D. 1165).

From Kalyan.

Sculptures and small Inscription stones (5 in all) from the Portuguese Ruins at Revdanda.

From Revdanda.

Two Paliya Stones.

From Viramgaum.

Two roughly sculptured slabs with the figures of Parvati and female attendants ; a broken black stone image of Vishnu ; two

sculptured slabs each with two panels with figures on them ; a block containing a roughly carved sitting figure of Shiva with attendants ; a stone with standing figures of Shiva, Parvati and Vishnu ; a slab with standing figures of Shiva and Parvati.

From Ahmedabad.

A finely sculptured slab having in the centre the figures of Shiva, Parvati and Nandi ; Shiva with three faces.

From Belgaum.

A large inscribed stone with various symbols.

From Muntor, Dharwar.

A finely carved standing black stone image of Vishnu decked with necklaces, armlets etc.

From Navalgund, Dharwar.

The Society purchased from the widow of the late Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, a ring which is said to have been found at Elephanta. The following information relating to the ring is extracted from " the Rock-Temples of Elephanta " by J. Burgess, 1871.

" The year before last a small seal for a ring was found at the excavations on the east side of the island. It is an oval light ruby-coloured cornelian, 0.45 inch long by 0.35 inch broad. The length of the face 0.40 and its breadth 0.28 inch, on this is sunk an ellipse 0.37 by 0.26 inch, inside which is sunk characters that stamp the word नारायण) Narayana in letters of the 5th or 6th Century. It is now in the possession of Dr. Bhau Daji. "

JOURNAL.

Number 62 forming the third and concluding number of Vol. XXII was published during the year, with an index, title page and contents of the Volume.

The new number contains the following papers and an abstract of proceedings of the Society for 1907, with a list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to it during the year.

The Nasik Hoard of Nahapana's coins.

By the Rev. H. R. Scott.

The coins of Surat-

By the Rev G. P. Taylor.

Rombay as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the year 1754 A. D.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.

A few notes on Broach from an Antiquarian point of view.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.

The Parāsariya Dharma Śastra.

By the late Shamrao Vithal, Esq.

(Communicated by the President.)

FINANCE.

A detailed statement of receipts and disbursements during 1907 is appended. It will be seen from it that the total amount of subscription including arrears, collected during the year was Rs. 13,422-12-0. The subscriptions received in the preceding year amounted to Rs. 13,712-4-0.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 885-2-8, and the arrears of subscription on the same date were Rs. 125-0-0.

The invested funds of the Society amount to Rs. 16,900.

ELECTRIC LIGHT AND FANS.

Special thanks of the Society are due to the Collector and to Government for providing electric lights and fans for all the Rooms in the Town Hall in the occupation of the Society.

Mr. S. S. Setlur proposed the adoption of the report. The proposition being seconded by Mr. Ghanasham N. Nadkarni was carried unanimously.

The Honorary Secretary proposed that the following gentlemen form the Committee of the Management and Auditors for 1908

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT FOR 1908.

President.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar.

Vice Presidents.

James MacDonald, Esq.

K. R. Cama, Esq.

J. J. Modi, Esq.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott.

Members.

F. R. Vicaji, Esq.

Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.

Dastoor Darab P. Sanjana

Khan Bahadur D. R. Chichgar

J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.

Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni

Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar.

Prof. E. H. McDougall

T. A. Savage, Esq.

V. P. Vaidya, Esq.

Fazulbhoy C. Ibrahim, Esq.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

Hon. Secretary.

P. B. Haigh, Esq., I.C.S.

Hon. Auditors.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

S. T. Bhandare, Esq.

The Chairman suggested that the name of the Rev. A. S. Crichton be substituted for that of Prof. E. H. McDougall who had been absent in Europe, and Mr. Wilkinson proposed that Mr. A. D. Shanks be one of the Auditors in his own place.

This being accepted, the original proposition as moved by the Honorary Secretary was adopted.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 25th November 1908.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandawarkar, President, in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary laid before the Meeting the following proposals about periodicals :—

By Mr. E. J. Bolus, I.C.S.—

- (1) That the "Daily News" be discontinued.
- (2) That if it is necessary to include a Liberal Paper, the "Chronicle" be taken.
- (3) That the "Oxford and Cambridge Review" be taken.
- (4) That the "Empire Review" be substituted for either
 - (a) Scribner's or
 - (b) Harper's.
- (5) That "Hazell's Annual" be taken.
- (6) That the "Empress" be taken in place of the "Indu Prakash".

By Mr. F. A. Vakil—

That the following be taken :—

- (1) "The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News."
- (2) "Westminster Budget" (in which Political Cartoons appear).
- (3) "Idler."
- (4) "Fry's Magazine."
- (5) "Tatler."
- (6) "Monist."
- (7) Journal of the English Folk-lore Society.

By Rev. Dr. R. Scott—

That the "Westminster Gazette" (Saturday Issue) be substituted for the "Nation."

By Prof. K. N. Colville.—

(1) That the "Daily News" be replaced by the "Westminster Gazette."

(2) That the "Morning Post" be taken.

To avoid increase in expenditure suggests the omission of—

"Portfolio."

"Le Tour des Monde."

The proposals for new additions were considered and the existing list was examined, and it was resolved that the following be subscribed for from the beginning of 1909 :—

The "Empire Review."

"Journal of the English Folk-lore Society."

"Westminster Gazette."

"American Journal of Archæology."

and that those named below be discontinued from the same date :—

"Daily News."

"Scribner's Magazine."

"Nation."

"Le Tour du Monde."

"Scientific American and Supplement."

List of Presents to the Library.

Titles of Books.

Donors.

ACCOUNTS of the Trade by Rail and River in India, 1906-07.

Government of India.

ACTS, Government of India, 1907.

Government of India.

[ADMINISTRATION Report, Ajmer-Merwara, 1906-07.

Government of India.

————— Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1906-07.

Government of India.

————— Report, Bengal Government, 1906-07.

Bengal Government.

————— Report, Bombay Presidency, 1906-07.

Bombay Government.

————— Report, Burma, 1906-07.

Burma Government.

————— Report, Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1906-07.

Government, Eastern Bengal.

————— Report, Madras, 1906-07.

Madras Government.

————— Report, N.-W. Frontier Province, 1906-07.

N.-W. F. Government.

————— Report, Punjab, 1906-07.

Punjab Government.

————— Report, United Provinces, Agra and Oudh, 1906-07.

U. P. Government.

AGRICULTURAL Ledger, 1907 (Nos. 1-5).

Government of India.

ANNALES du Musee Guimet.

Tome 12 (Bod-Youl ou Tibet).

„ 22 (Essai de Bibliographie Jaina).

„ 23 Histoire des Idées Theosophiques dans l'Inde.

Minister of Public Instruction, France.

Annals, Astrophysical Observatory, Smithsonian Institution, Vol. II, 1908.

The Institution.

ANNUAL Statement of Trade and Navigation, Sind, for 1906-07.

Bombay Government.

*Titles of Books.**Donors.*

ARCHÆOLOGICAL Survey of Ceylon, Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. I,
Parts 1 to 3.

Ceylon Government.

BALLADS and other Poems, Life in Song; Aztéc God. By G. L. Raymond.

The Author.

BOMBAY Code, 3rd Edition.

Government of India.

— — — — Improvement Trust Report, 1907-08.

Chairman, Improvement Trust.

— — — — Port Trust Report, 1907-08.

Chairman, Bombay Port Trust.

— — — — University Calendar, 1908-09.

The University.

BOUDDHA Sakhya Mouni, Par. S. Egoreff.

The Author.

BULLETIN, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XV, Part II.
1907.

The Museum.

— — — — Lloyd Library of Botany, Pharmacy, etc., No. 10, 1908.

The Committee, Lloyd Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

CAMA Masonic Jubilee Volume.

J. J. Modi, Esq.

CANADA'S Fertile North Land with Maps.

The Hon'ble Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, Canada.

CATALOGUE of Coins in the Indian Museum, Vols. II and III.

Trustees of the Indian Museum.

— — — — of Sanskrit Mss. Oriental Library, Madras, Vol. IV.

Madras Government.

— — — — of the Existing Collection of Coins in the Nagpore
Museum.

Bombay Government and Chief Commissioner, C. P.

— — — — of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts, Oriental Public
Library, Bankipore.

Bengal Government.

CONTRIBUTIONS to South American Archæology, Vol. I.

Messrs. M. H. Saville and G. G. Heye.

COORG Code, 3rd Edition.

Government of India.

CRIMINAL Classes, Bombay Presidency.

Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
DEPARTMENT of Agriculture, Bombay ; Bulletin, No. 31—Establishment and Management of Dairy Farms.	Bombay Government.
DIGEST of Indian Law Cases, 1906. By C. E. Grey.	Government of India.
DINKARD, Vol. .	Trustees, Parsee Panchayet.
DISTRICT Gazetteers ; Baluchistan :—	
Loralai District.	
Zhob.	
Sibi.	
Bolan and Chagai.	
Makran and Kharan.	
Sarawan.	
Las Bela.	
	Government of India.
— — — — — Gazetteers ; Madras :—	
Godavari.	
Trichinopoly.	
Nilgiri District.	
	Government of India.
— — — — — Gazetteers ; Punjab :—	
Bhawalpur State.	
Sialkot.	
Sirmur State.	
Gujranwala.	
Mandi and Suket States.	
Shahpur.	
Kangra and Jhelum.	
— — — — — Gazetteers ; N. W. Frontier Province.	
Banu.	
	Government of India.
— — — — — Gazetteers, Bengal,	
Bankura and Puri	
Saran.	
Angul.	
	Government of India.
— — — — — Gazetteers, Central Provinces.	
Balaghat District, Vol A.	Government of India.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
DISTRICT Gazetteers, Central Provinces, Vol. A., Chindwara and Nimar.	Government of India.
— — — — — Gazetteers, Eastern Bengal, Chittagong.	Government of India.
— — — — — Gazetteers of United Provinces, Badaun. Ballia.	Government of India.
DUTCH Records Nos. 1—5 (Selections from the Records of Madras Govt.)	Madras Government.
EAST India—Accounts and Estimates, 1908-1909.	Secretary of State for India.
— India—Income and Expenditure, 1896-97 to 1906-07.	Secretary of State for India.
— — — India—Indian Financial Statement for 1908-09.	Secretary of State for India.
— India (North-West Frontier) Papers.	Secretary of State for India.
India—Statement, Moral and Material Progress and condition of India, 1906-07.	Secretary of State for India.
EASTERN Bengal and Assam Code.	Government of India.
ELEMENTARY Course of Civil Engineering, (Mahan).	Mr. Bhimrao C. Suba Rao.
EL-KHAZREJI'S History of the Resuli Dynasty of Yemen, Vol. II.	Trustees, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial.
ENGLISH Factories in India, 1618—1621.	Government of India.
— — — — — Factories in India, 1622-23.	Government of India.
FIELD, Garden and Orchard Crops. (Bulletin, Dept. of Agriculture.)	Bombay Government.
FINANCE and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India, 1906-07.	Government of India.
HISTORY of Services of Gazetted Officers, Civil Department, Bombay Presidency, July 1908.	Bombay Government.
— — — — — of the Incas (Hak- Soc.)	Bombay Government.

PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
HOME Accounts, Government of India, 1907-08.	Secretary of State for India.
IMPERIAL Byzantine Coins in the British Museum.	The British Museum.
———Gazetteer of India, Indian Empire, Vol. II, & Vols. V-XVIII. Government of India.	
INCOME Tax, Statistical Returns, Bombay Presidency, 1906-07.	Bombay Government.
INDIA Weather Review, Annual Summary, 1906.	Government of India.
INDIAN Castes. By J. A. Saldanha.	The Author.
——— Law Reports, Calcutta, 1907.	Bengal Government.
Do. Bombay, 1907.	Bombay Government.
Do. Allahabad, 1907.	U. P. Government.
Do. Madras, 1907.	Madras Government.
INQUIRY into the Principles of Modern Theosophy. By P. A. Wadia.	The Author.
INSTITUTES of Mussalman Law.	Government of India.
IRRIGATION Work in India and Egypt.	Mr. Bhimirao C. Suba Rao.
IRSHID Al-arib Ila Marifat Al-adib.	Trustees, Gibb Memorial.
IS Flesh eating morally defensible. By S. H. Beard.	The Author.
JOE Skinner. By A. S. Craven.	The Author.
KABIR and the Kabir Pantha. By Rev. G. H. Westcott.	The Author.
LESSONS in Avesta.	Trustees, Parsee Punchayet
——— Pahlavi-Pazend	Trustees, Parsee Punchayet.
LINGUISTIC Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part II.	Government of India.

*Titles of Books.**Donors.*

MADRAS University Calendar, 1908-09.

University of Madras.

MANUAL of Geology in India (Medlicott and Blanford).

Mr. Bhimarao C. Suba Rao.

MEMOIRS, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. III, Part IV,
Vol. IX, Part IV, Vol. X and Vol. XIV, Part II.

Museum Trustees.

———— Indian Meteorological Department, Vol. XVIII,
Part III, Vol. XX, Parts II and IV.

Government of India.

MONOGRAPH on Iron and Steel Industries, Punjab, 1906-07.

Punjab Government.

MOUNTAIN Panoramas from the Pamirs and Kwen Lun; with intro-
duction. By Dr. Stein.

Government of India.

PAG Sam Jon Zang, Part I. History of the Rise and Progress and
Downfall of Buddhism in India.

Bengal Government.

PAPERS; Second Revision Survey Settlement—80 Villages, Hubli
Taluka, Dharwar.

Bombay Government.

— Revision Survey Settlement—Navalgund and Ron Talukas,
Dharwar.

Bombay Government.

———— Revision Survey Settlement—Hyderabad Taluka, Hyderabad.

Bombay Government.

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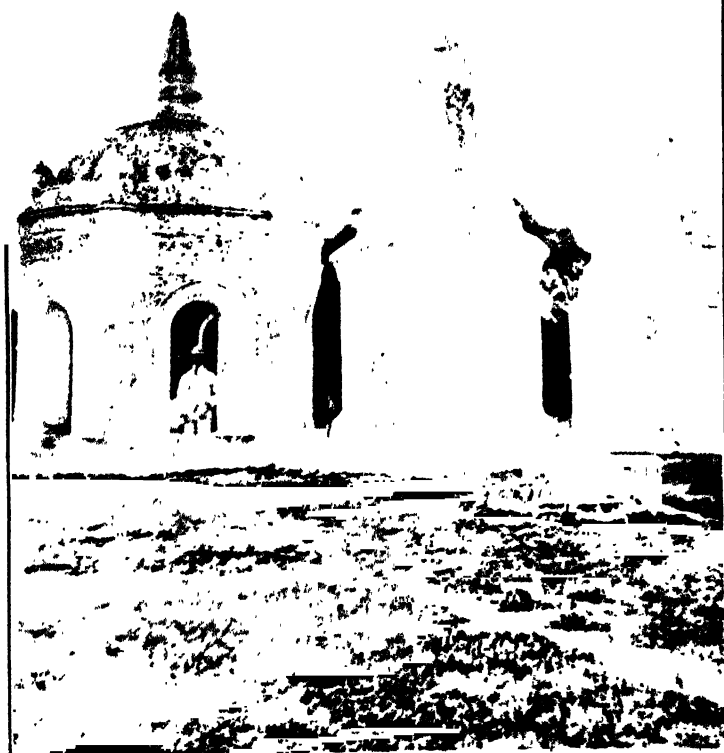
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ART. XVI.—*The Nāsik (Joghaltembhi) Hoard of Nahapāna's Coins.*

By REV. H. R. SCOTT, M.A.

(Communicated.)

The announcement in the *Times of India* of the 31st May last of the discovery in the Nāsik District of an immense hoard of Nahapāna's coins came as a very welcome piece of news to all who are interested in the ancient coinage of India. The hoard was at first reported to contain about 10,000 coins, and the great significance of this fact will appear when it is remembered that there were probably not a dozen specimens of Nahapāna's coins known to numismatists before this hoard came to light, and those few known specimens were in one very important respect all very imperfect.

I cannot better introduce what I have to say about the coins than by quoting a part of the account of the discovery of the hoard written by the Secretary of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and published in the *Times of India* of May 31st.

“The village of Joghaltembhi lies close to the junction of the rivers Godavary and Darna, which uniting into a single stream of narrow compass in the fair season form the boundary between the Niphad and Sinnar talukas; and just outside the village site stands a small hill, more aptly described perhaps as a grassy barrow, around which the children of the village are wont to play. Here indeed they were engaged some few weeks ago in playing an indigenous game, known as Godhe-Kathi, which consists in an attempt to transfix one's adversary's stick, as it lies on the ground, with one's own weapon, each stick being sharpened to a fine point. At the moment when the coins were first discovered, one boy's stick lay just at the foot of the grassy hillock, and his playmate hurled his weapon at it with all the force of his small arm. The stick missed its goal, but impinging squarely on the soil uprooted a small handful of earth and grass, and disclosed something which glittered in the morning sun. Money! Forgotten are the sticks, forgotten the game, when the great fact dawned upon their childish minds. Mother Earth is a hard task mistress to the Deccan ryot; but she has her moments of compassion, and surely this was one.

“The report of her bounty spread through the village; the elders came to the spot, and decided to dig deeper. . . . Further excavation disclosed an earthen pot, firmly embedded in

the hill side, and filled to overflowing with silver coins, much of which the villagers proceeded in the true commercial spirit to melt down. But the story of the find spread further than the limits of Jogaltembhi, and within a short time the balance of the treasure, about 10,000 coins, found a resting place in the local treasury under the Treasure Trove Act. . . . , . . .

“The fact that several of the coins are bored near the edges and that their resting place is near the confluence of two rivers, seems to justify the supposition that they once formed part of the treasure buried beneath a Hindu temple. The temple has vanished, nor does local legend preserve the smallest memory of it, but its treasure, veiled for nearly 1,800 years, has at last become articulate and bears its message across the gulf of dead centuries to those who rule the Deccan to-day, and who are themselves foreigners like Nahapāna the Kṣaharāta.”

The total number of coins sent to me amounted to about 13,250 and as it is said that a good many were melted down by the villagers who discovered the hoard, it is quite possible that there may have been 14,000 or even 15,000 altogether.

The coins are in an excellent state of preservation, hardly more than a dozen of them being illegible through a deposit of verdigris. Considering the fact that the hoard must have lain very near the surface of the ground for almost 1,800 years, the bright fresh appearance of the coins is very remarkable.

Of the coins that came into my hands about 9,270 are coins of Nahapāna the Kṣaharāta, counter-marked by his conqueror Gotami-putra Śrī Sātakarṇi. The remainder, nearly 4,000 coins, are coins of Nahapāna which have not been so counter-stamped. Over 2,000 of the coins are roughly perforated, about two-thirds of the perforated coins being Sātakarṇi's. The perforation was probably made in order to attach the coins to a belt or to the clothes of the owner, or perhaps to make coin necklaces. These coins would not be likely to go into circulation again, and their presence in the hoard lends support to the theory that we have here probably the treasure of a temple, the pierced coins having been torn off the belts and offered on the occasion of the dedication of the temple.

Seven or eight years ago the writer of this paper had the honour of bringing to the notice of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society an extremely interesting find of about 1,200 (twelve hundred)

Kṣatrapa coins which were discovered in the floor of a cave near the Uparkot of Junāgadh. Up to that time no such extensive find of coins of that series had been made, and it was a delightful task to go through the hoard and to discover how rich it was in excellent specimens of the coins of no less than thirteen of the Kṣatrapa rulers, many of them clearly dated, the dates being in several instances new to us. But there was one disappointment in connection with the Uparkot hoard. Although it contained specimens of so many different kings, there was not a single coin there belonging to any king earlier than Rudrasena I, the eighth of the line, whose reign extended from 200 to 220 A.D. This was all the more disappointing from the fact that so few specimens were known of the coins of the Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas who preceded Rudrasena. The succession as generally received runs thus :—

- (1) Nahapāna the Kṣaharāta, 120 A.D.
- (2) Caṣṭana, son of Ghsamotika.
- (3) Jayadāman, son of Caṣṭana.
- (4) Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman.
- (5) Dāmajada, son of Rudradāman.
- (6) Rudrasimha, „ „
- (7) Jivadāman, son of Dāmajada.
- (8) Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha, etc.

Whilst a fair number of coins of the last five have been discovered, very few were known of any of the first three, until the finding of the present hoard. From coins and inscriptions it has been inferred that Nahapāna was the first of the line of Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa rulers, but no positive evidence has yet appeared to connect him with Caṣṭana. All we know is that he ruled over territory which afterwards formed part of the Kṣatrapa kingdom, that he was a foreigner who won a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Andhras, that “ he is styled Kṣatrapa in an inscription dated 42 (*i.e.*, A.D. 120), and appears as Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi in an inscription of his minister Ayama, dated in the year 46.” On the other side it is to be remembered that his conqueror the king Sātakaṛṇi declares in the Nāsik Cave inscription that he had “rooted out the dynasty of Khakharāta,” and now we have the pictorial evidence of these coins to show how Sātakaṛṇi did his best to obliterate the features of Nahapāna from his coins. And we learn from these coins that while Nahapāna's coins bore the symbols of the thunderbolt and arrow, the king Sātakaṛṇi used as his symbols the well known “Ujjain mark” and the *chaitya*. And it is to be remembered that the *chaitya* is the symbol of the Kṣatrapas

These facts should lead us to suspend our judgment until further light is obtained, and such a discovery as that of the present immense hoard encourages us to hope that there are yet great discoveries to be made in this field. Whether we suppose that this hoard was the treasure of a temple buried at the time of dedication, or a private hoard put away in some time of panic and distress, there is every reason to believe that similar treasure must be waiting in many other places to be unearthed.

With regard to the coins contained in this hoard I shall arrange my observations under the following six heads :—

- (1) The Greek inscription on the obverse.
- (2) The Kharoṣṭhi inscription on the reverse.
- (3) The Brāhmi inscription on the reverse.
- (4) The head of the king as represented on the coins.
- (5) The counter-struck inscription of Sātakaṛṇi.
- (6) The symbols used by the two kings.

I.—THE GREEK INSCRIPTION ON THE OBTVERSE.

It is interesting to remember that the signification of the Greek letters found on these coins has furnished a problem with which Indian numismatists have wrestled for more than half a century. The first coin of Nahapāna's to be discovered in our time was obtained more than 50 years ago from Kāthiāwār by Mr. Justice Newton, and its Greek inscription is thus described by him :—" Sufficient remains to show that the letters were purely Greek, although in consequence of original indistinctness, wear or corrosion, not more than a single character here and there can be made out, and these hardly justify me in hazarding a conjecture as to the filling in."

In July, 1890, the J.R.A.S. contained an article on the Western Kṣatrapas by Paṇḍit Bhagwānlal Indrāji, containing his latest views "after a careful and continuous study, extending over 26 years, of the Kṣatrapa coins and inscriptions." In that article all that the learned paṇḍit could say with regard to the Greek inscription on these coins was that "the Greek letters on the obverse can never be read with certainty."

In a note to the Paṇḍit's essay Professor Rapson dissents from the Paṇḍit's opinion that there are traces to be found of the name Liaka Kusula, and gives his own opinion that "the arrangement of the Greek letters seems to be quite fantastic" . . . He says "the letters **ΛΑΚΟ** seen on some specimens cannot represent the name Liaka unless we suppose these legends to consist partly of Greek

and partly of Roman characters." Now it is a very curious fact, which we owe to the discovery of the present hoard that while Professor Rapson was perfectly right in maintaining that the name Liaka is not represented on the coins, the reason which he advances in support of that opinion is incorrect, for as a matter of fact we find on these coins beyond all possibility of doubt that very mixture of the Greek and Roman characters which he thought impossible. In the same paper Professor Rapson says that "Roman denarii rather than Greek hemidrachms seem to have served as the models from which the Kṣatrapa coinage was copied," a remark which may go some length towards explaining the use of the Roman characters alongside the Greek.

In his later paper on "The coinage of the Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra and Mālava (Western Kṣatrapas) published in the J. R. A. S. April, 1899, Professor Rapson has a very full discussion of the Greek inscriptions found on these coins. He there points out that the letters are clearest during the period when the workmanship was at its best, *i.e.*, approximately from the reign of Dāmajadaśri, son of Rudradāman, to that of Vijayasena, son of Dāmasena, and that in consequence, the coins of that period received most attention. He comes to the conclusion, however, that "at this time (roughly about 90 to 170 of the Kṣatrapa era, *i.e.*, A.D. 168 to 248) this Greek inscription had lost all meaning, and continued to be reproduced mechanically and unintelligently as a sort of ornamental border." He adds that "the best hope of recovering the lost meaning lay evidently in a study of the earliest coins of the class, those of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana, which belonged to a period when these Greek inscriptions possibly still had some significance, but unfortunately all the known specimens of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana were lamentably deficient and fragmentary in this respect."

Professor Rapson goes on to tell how the discovery of a coin of Caṣṭana at last supplied the long missing clue. Its Greek inscription was indeed very incomplete, but what was left contained the word **ΠΑΝΝΙΩΝ** and it was concluded that the Greek letters must be "either translations or transliterations of the Indian inscriptions on the reverse." As there were no traces found of the word **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ** there seemed good reason to conclude that they were transliterations, and this conclusion was confirmed by the discovery of a coin of Nahapāna on which it seemed possible to make out the word **ΠΑΝΝΙΩΝ**. One further step was taken, with some hesitation, for the evidence was by no means clear. There were, however,

very probable indications that the third word of the Greek inscription must be a transliteration of the word Nahapānasa. The word appeared to be **NAA..A..NACC**.

This then was all that could be deduced from the data available. An attempt was made to read the second word of the inscription, but the conclusion reached was that "after all allowance for blundering has been made, the letters **IATΛACC** can scarcely be intended for a transliteration of Kṣaharātasa or Chaharātasa." Professor Rapson was inclined to think that the word might be intended for **IATΠACC** = kṣatrapasa.

This was the state of the problem when the present hoard of Nahapāna's coins came to light. At one stroke the whole difficulty was removed, and the puzzle of fifty years solved.

In this hoard we have many hundreds of good specimens of the original Greek inscription, from which it can be readily seen that the transliteration was wonderfully accurate, and that not only is the first word **PANNIW** and the third word **NAHAΠANAC**, but the second word, which had not been made out before, is what might have been expected, **IAHAPATAC**. The full Greek inscription on the best specimens is **PANNIW IAHAPATAC NAHAΠANAC**.

But this hoard not only supplies us with hundreds of specimens of the correct Greek transliteration, but, what is of scarcely less interest, it furnishes thousands of examples of the gradual corruption of the inscription, till apparently in Nahapāna's own time and on his own coins the inscription has changed so much as to be almost unintelligible. Little wonder therefore that the efforts of numismatists to make sense of the inscriptions on the coins of the later reigns proved so entirely fruitless.

A table of actual readings from various specimens arranged in order of faithfulness to the original Greek transliteration will make the matter clear :

PANNIW IAHAPATAC NAHAΠANAC.

PANNIW IAHAPATAC NAHAΠANA.

PANNIW IAHAPATAC NAHAΠ.

PAHNIW IAHAPATAC NAHA.

PAHNIW IAHAPATC NAHA.

... .. ATACNAHANC.

PAHNIW ZAHAP ...

PAHNIW IABAA ... NA ... NAC.

PAHNIW IABAAACCCIAAAPNA ...

PAHNIW IBAAACCCIAAPNA ...

PAHNIW IAHBAAC ...

PAHNIW IAHBAACCCIAAPNAACCE.

PAHNIW EAHBA ...

PAHNIW EIAHBA ...

PAHNIW EAHB ...

PAHNIW SHAAVA ...

PAHNIW SHAAH ...

PHIL ...

... IWSABAAA ...

... WILBAACCCIAAPNA ...

PHAAIW ...

PAHNIW SHAAIA ...

An examination of these various readings of the Greek legend yields the following results :—

(1) The Greek inscription was originally a correct transliteration of the Brāhmi inscription on the reverse.*

(2) In the best examples the inscription runs thus :

PANNIW IAHAPATAC NAHATANAC.

N.B.—There is no instance of **A** being found after the **G** in the two genitive forms as one might naturally expect.

(3) The use of the Roman letter **H** twice in the inscription is remarkable, and as far as I know, these coins supply the only instance of such a combination of the Greek and Roman characters.

(4) The other letters of the inscription in the best examples are correctly shaped Greek (uncial) letters, generally very well formed, the letter **Ξ** being represented by **I**.

(5) Changes gradually take place in the inscription which can only be accounted for on the supposition that the later dies were prepared by persons ignorant of the Greek alphabet. In those degenerate instances the letter **N** is almost invariably written as **Π**; the letter **I** has various shapes: **Σ**, **Ξ**, **Ϟ**, **ϙ**, **Ζ**; the letter **H** seems to have been early changed to **B**; and perhaps the most curious change of all is the change of **Π** into **P**. This seems to indicate a knowledge of the Roman alphabet, and ignorance of the Greek, but on the other hand there is the fact that the Roman **R** is never found in the place of the Greek **P** in the first word of the inscription.

* On other grounds it has been conjectured that Caṣṭana and Nahapāna were contemporaries. The evidence of the Greek inscription on the coins points to the same conclusion. Although we have not yet discovered a coin of Caṣṭana's with the Greek inscription perfect, enough is known to show that it was probably an accurate transliteration, in which case it is reasonable to infer that it was contemporaneous with Nahapāna's early coins, before the degeneration had set in. On no coin later than Caṣṭana's can any sense be made of the Greek inscription.

the conclusion is forced on us that the Kharoṣṭhi characters were not as well known as the Brāhmi to those who made those dies. And I have already referred to the curious and decidedly puzzling fact that the worst specimens of the Kharoṣṭhi are found on the coins that have the most perfect Greek, and *vice versa*.

When comparing the letters found on these coins with the Table of the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet given in Bühler's Indische Palæographie, I was at once struck by the superior finish, if I may so express it, of the letters on the coins. There is a shakiness and irregularity in the letters of the Table which we do not find here. This may be due to the fact that Bühler got most of his types from rock inscriptions or much worn coins. On the rock inscriptions the letters would be large and uneven to begin with, and would be worn and rendered more or less indistinct by long exposure to the weather. Whether this conjecture be well founded or not, the letters on these coins are certainly neater looking than the same letters in the Table, and beautifully clear specimens are abundant. Take for instance the letters 𑀓 and 𑀔 which always appear on the coins with sharp angles and simple firm lines, and observe the contrast in the Table.

Bühler gives two forms (right-handed and left-handed) of the letter *na* in his Table, 𑀓 and 𑀔, and we find many examples of both on the coins. But in the case of several other letters, of which Bühler gives only single forms, right-handed or left-handed as the case may be, we find two forms on the coins. Thus Bühler gives only one form, right-handed, of the letter *pa* whereas we find two forms (𑀧, 𑀨) on the coins of this hoard. The latter form is found for the most part on coins which have the purest Greek inscription, and is also generally associated with the left-handed form of *na*.

The Kharoṣṭhi legend is frequently abbreviated on the coins for want of space in the circle, and I have noted the following :—

Rano Chaharatasa Nahapana.

Rano Chaharatasa Nahapa.

Rano Chaharatasa Naha.

Rano Chaharatasa Na.

Rano Chaharatasa.

These abbreviations are found only on coins that preserve the most correct form of the Greek legend. The Brāhmi inscription, as far as I have seen, is never abbreviated.

I give below a table showing the varieties in the shape of the Kharoṣṭhi letters which are found on the coins, along with the same letters as figured in Bühler's Table :—

Kharoṣṭhi
letters from
Bühler's
Tables.

The same letters as found on the coins of this
hoard.

Ra =	१, १	१, १, १, १, १, १, १, १
Na =	५, ५	५, ५, ५, ५, ५, ५, ५, ५, ५, ५, ५, ५, ५
cha =	ॣ	ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ
ha =	२	२, २, २, २, २, २, २, २, २, २, २, २, २
ta =	ॢ, ॢ	ॢ, ॢ, ॢ, (no instance of left-handed ta)
sa =	ॣ, ॣ	ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, (no instance of left-handed sa)
na =	ॣ	ॣ, ॣ, ॣ
pa =	ॣ	ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ, ॣ

(i) A somewhat worn specimen has :— ॣ ॣ ॣ ॣ ॣ ॣ ॣ ॣ — apparently a serious attempt to represent the vowel signs.

(ii) Another, with King's bust very small, and otherwise peculiar, has :— ॣ ॣ ॣ ॣ ॣ ॣ ॣ — Raḥo Chaharatasa Nahana.

(iii) On a single specimen I find a letter or symbol of some sort following the Kharoṣṭhi legend, i.e., between it and the Brāhmi, thus :— ॣ ॣ ॣ ॣ ॣ — This sign may simply mark off the Brāhmi from the Kharoṣṭhi.

The results of my examination of the Kharoṣṭhi inscription may be summarised as follows :—

(1) The letters are in very many cases beautifully formed, and give the impression of being better executed than the letters of Bühler's Table.

IV.—THE BUST OF NAHAPĀNA.

I have now reached what I cannot help regarding as the most perplexing and difficult part of my task, the representation of the king's head on the coins.

When Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indrāji wrote his final paper on the Kṣatrapa coins he had only four specimens of Nahapāna's coins in his collection—now in the British Museum,—and I do not think he had ever seen any other specimens than those four. From these coins he was able, as we have seen, to read the Kharoṣṭhi and Brāhmi inscriptions, but quite unable to do more than make a mistaken guess as to the Greek inscription. With regard to the bust of the king he wrote, "The face on the obverse of all my coins was so well executed as to fairly indicate the age of the king at the time of striking. The face on one coin seemed to be that of a man about thirty years old. Another specimen . . . has a somewhat older head, perhaps about 45. A third coin . . . has a wrinkled face, with a long wrinkled neck, indicating an age of about 60; while the last specimen . . . bears a still older type of face with wrinkled cheeks and toothless mouth, and represents the king at about the age of seventy." Ever since I first read the Paṇḍit's paper I have been filled with admiration at the marvellous skill possessed by the mint masters of those early days,—a skill which, as far as I am aware, is never emulated in any country, civilised or otherwise, in our time,—and with wonder at the remarkable fact that while only four coins of Nahapāna were preserved over the lapse of nearly 1800 years, those four should be found to be so well distributed over the whole length of his long reign. It will be readily understood how eager an interest I took in comparing the busts of the king given on the 13,000 coins of this hoard.

The first impression that one receives from the coins is that the head of the king is very well executed, the face is possessed of distinction and character and has no appearance of being conventional. The workmanship is far from being equally good on all the coins, but this matter of character and type is evident in all the coins. They give one the impression of being good likenesses. They also undoubtedly represent the king as of various ages, some of the faces being young enough to be twenty years of age, and others old enough looking to be that of a man of seventy.

Was the Paṇḍit then right in his theory? In other words, do the coins really represent the king at all ages from twenty or thirty seventy, and was the likeness varied from year to year?

With this question in my mind I have made a careful study of the coins, and have turned them all over again and again, but whilst I feel the utmost reluctance in disagreeing with so high an authority, and whilst I admit that there is much to be said in support of his view, yet on the whole I do not think that it is possible to establish the Paṇḍit's conclusion. I should say that a certain proportion of the coins, perhaps one-third, might be regarded as witnesses in favour of the Paṇḍit's theory. If these coins were set apart, and if we had no other specimens of Nahapāna's coins, we should have no hesitation in believing that the king was really represented on the coins in all the various stages of his long life. But against this theory we must set the evidence of two-thirds of the coins of the hoard, on which we have indeed faces varying greatly in age, and not in age only, but in every feature. This is the surprise and the mystery of the hoard. If we grant that the die casters of those days were sufficiently skilled in their work to produce portraits of the king at various ages, and I am quite prepared to grant that, then I think we are forced to the conclusion that it is not one face that is represented on these coins but many. I hope that the coins shown on the Plates will make this clear.

We are thus face to face with a very curious problem. The inscriptions are all the inscriptions of Nahapāna, whose are the faces? If they were really intended to represent one person, then we must not only accept the Paṇḍit's theory as to the different ages, but we must conclude that the striking differences shown on the coins are due to the great variety of artists employed, and to their very varied powers of portraiture. If on the other hand we feel constrained to conclude that all these various types,—short-necked and long-necked, straight-nosed and hook-nosed, low forehead and high forehead, stern visaged and pleasant faced, lean face and fat face,—cannot possibly represent the same person, then whom do they represent? Before giving my own opinion on this matter I wish to draw attention to some points which I have noticed in examining the coins. In the first place I have noticed that only a comparatively small proportion of the coins of this hoard have the Greek letters in their most correct form and the transliteration in its incorrupt reading. One would naturally expect to find on these coins a youthful representation of the king. But this is not the case. I might almost say that the very opposite is the case, but as a matter of fact there are a very few coins with perfect Greek which show a youthful face. The great majority, however, of the coins with the best Greek have a very old type of face. Again, it seems to me that even among the coins with the Greek legend pure there are sufficiently dis-

tinct types of face to render it extremely doubtful that they could stand for one and the same person. Further, a very large number of coins in the hoard which have the Greek legend in a corrupt form, have quite a youthful representation of the king. And lastly, it seems to me that the differences are so pronounced that we are forced to seek some other explanation than that of Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indrāji, and to consider the possibility at least of there being here the faces of different persons.

But for one significant fact, I should have been inclined to suggest that we may have here the coins not of a single king, but of a series of kings, sons and grandsons perhaps of Nahapāna, who retained on their coins the name of their great ancestor as a title of honour, and for some strange reason caused their features to be portrayed on their coins, whilst refusing to record their personal names. I should also have been inclined to believe that the coins in this hoard might well cover a period of a century or two. But right in the way of any such theory lies the stubborn fact that almost if not quite all of the various types of Nahapāna's coins are found among the coins which were counter stamped by Nahapāna's conqueror, Sātakarṇi. One of the types I have not been able to trace, a youthful face with the Greek legend in correct form, and another type of youthful face with a very corrupt form of the legend in very small letters is extremely rare. But I have not been able to make an exhaustive search for these types, and the fact is unquestionable that among the coins stamped by Sātakarṇi are specimens of practically all the various types found among the coins that are not counter stamped.

It seems to me that a possible solution of the problem may be found in the expression used by Sātakarṇi in his Nāsik cave inscription, where he claims to have "rooted out the dynasty of the Khakharāta." This may be taken to mean either a line of Kṣaharātas or a number of members of the Kṣaharāta family, ruling over various parts of the country at the same time. If we suppose that such was the case, then it may be possible that various members of the family caused their own likenesses to be engraved on the coins, whilst keeping the inscription of Nahapāna unchanged as he was the founder of the dynasty. The explanation is, I admit, a somewhat far fetched one, but I give it for what it is worth, and it may be allowed to stand till some further evidence is available.

Before leaving this part of the subject I want to point out that the shape of the hat worn by the king, and the style in which the hair is represented are both characteristic, and appear the same on all the

different types of coins. This is the more important as the busts of the Kṣātrapas all differ from Nahapāna's in these particulars.

Nahapāna's head dress is a kind of square flat cap, without a brim, intersected by a number of upright strokes giving the appearance of a crown in some cases, and having a sort of little knot projecting behind. The Kṣātrapa's head dress on the other hand is round and smooth as if it were of metal, always shows a distinct brim, has no lines or marks of any kind, or any knot behind.

The style in which the hair is dressed is equally characteristic. Nahapāna's hair is gathered up in a kind of bobwig style close under the hat, and extending only to the ear; whilst all the Kṣātrapas wore the hair long, extending down far behind the ear, and showing voluminous curls on the neck.

Another point on which all Nahapāna's coins agree is in showing the king without a moustache, whereas the Kṣātrapa kings invariably have moustaches.

V.—THE COUNTER-STRUCK INSCRIPTION OF SĀTAKARṆI I.

As I have stated in the early part of my paper more than two-thirds of the coins of this hoard have been counter-struck by Nahapāna's conqueror, the king Gotamiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi.

In very many cases the counterstamp is such as to completely obliterate the inscriptions and symbols of Nahapāna. In other cases not much damage has been done and there is no difficulty in reading the original legends. My first idea was that the die used for the purpose of counter stamping the coins was brought to a white heat and then used until too cool to make an impression. The first coins stamped would therefore have their original inscriptions completely effaced, and the later ones would be scarcely affected. It has, however, been explained to me by my friend H. Cousens, Esq., of the Archæological Survey that such a thing as using a hot die is unknown, and that the true explanation of the varying effect of the blow given to the counterstamped coin lies in the workman and not in the tool. A strong sledge hammer blow would efface the original stamp, but as the workman grew tired and struck less vigorously the effect would be less.

In Bhāṇḍārkar's History of the Deccan (p. 167) there is a reference to a counterstamped coin. "One of the Kolhāpur coins figured by Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indrāji bears the names of both Gotamiputra and Madhariputra, showing that the piece originally bearing

the name of one of them was restamped with the name of the other. Mr. Thomas thinks it was originally Madhariputra's coin. I think it was Gotamiputra's; for if we see the other figured coins we shall find that they are so stamped as to leave some space between the rim and the legend. This in the present case is utilized, and the name of Madhariputra stamped close to the rim, which shows that the thing was done later. Madhariputra Sakasena, therefore, must have been a successor of Gotamiputra Yajna Śrī Sātakarṇi."

It is noteworthy that there is not a single coin in the whole collection which was not originally Nahapāna's. This raises the question whether Sātakarṇi I. ever issued coins of his own, and the testimony of the coins of this hoard points to the conclusion that he probably did not.

As far as I know the coins of this hoard are the first of Sātakarṇi's coins to be brought to light, and so they are of very special interest.

Much has been learnt about this king Sātakarṇi I. from the cave inscriptions at Nāsik. The most important of the many inscriptions found in the caves is that of Queen Gautami Bālās'ri, in which the merits of her son, the illustrious Sātakarṇi Gautamiputra, are very fully described. If this account is to be relied on he must have been a very mighty king indeed. He is called "King of kings", and the list is given of the countries over which he ruled, showing that his kingdom stretched from Mālwa in the north to Malabar in the south, and apparently embraced all Rajputānā, Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, and the Deccan. He "humbled the conceit and vanity of the Kṣatriyas;" "destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas," i.e., the Scythians, Greeks and Persians,—all northern invaders;—"fostered the Brahmins;" "established the glory of the Satavahana family;" "stopped the admixture of the four castes;" was a great warrior, ever victorious, a descendant of illustrious kings; and, what is of chief interest to us just now, "rooted out the dynasty of the Khakharāta." The name of Nahapāna does not occur in the inscription, but there seems no doubt that the description of Sātakarṇi as the conqueror of Nahapāna is correct.

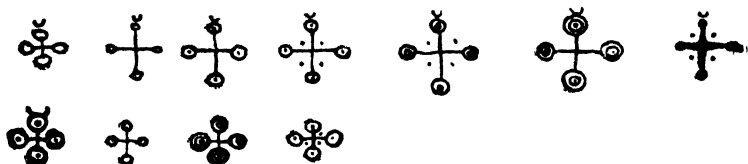
It is curious and interesting to find that the famous Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman in his inscription at Girnār claims to be just such another king as Sātakarṇi is here described, and to have ruled over practically the same immense district. Rudradāman also claims to have twice conquered Sātakarṇi, the lord of the Deccan, and to have refrained from destroying him only on account of his being a near

The great variety of dies used in making the counter impression is as noticeable as the variety in the case of Nahapāna's coins to which I have drawn attention. The work was evidently done by many different workmen, of very different abilities, and probably at many different places. The letters on some coins are very clear and well formed and regular, on others they are large and irregular.

The symbols also vary in a remarkable way. Thus we find the following varieties in the shape of the *chaitya* :—



The "Ujjain symbol" appears in the following varieties



VI.—THE SYMBOLS ON THE COINS.

The last subject which I proposed to discuss in this paper is the meaning of the various symbols which are found on Nahapāna's and Sātakarṇi's coins. All I can do however is to direct attention to the matter, and state the facts as we find them, in the hope that the subject may be taken up and exhaustively treated by more competent hands than mine. For there is no doubt a most interesting and unexplored line of research here waiting for a scholar with leisure and opportunity to trace these different and distinct symbols back to their origin and thence down through all their vicissitudes, to their final disappearance from the coinage of India.

(a) Nahapāna's coins display his head on the obverse, and a thunderbolt and arrow on the reverse. There is always a small dot found between the thunderbolt and the arrow, which may stand for the sun, but is hardly imposing enough.

Nahapāna had the examples of Greek and Roman coins before him for the use of his own effigies on his coins, but I have found no instance of any previous Indian or Bactrian king making use of the thunderbolt and arrow on his coins, nor do I know of any subsequent king using these symbols. The Kṣatrapas who have been regarded as Nahapāna's successors never appear to have used the thunderbolt

and arrow, their symbols being the *chaitya* with sun and moon, and on their copper coinage an elephant or an Indian bull.

That all the symbols used had a religious signification is, I think, very probable, but there was so much eclecticism at that period of Indian history that it is impossible to draw hard and fast lines. I would merely suggest that the thunderbolt and arrow may be emblems of Viṣṇu, the wielder of lightning and thunder, and therefore, these symbols may be connected with Hinduism proper, whilst the *chaitya* and the "Ujjain symbol" may be connected with Buddhism.

(b) Sātakarṇi's symbols are, as we have seen, the *chaitya* and the "Ujjain mark." They were not new to Indian coinage as they are both found on some of the very earliest of the Indian coins, e.g., the *chaitya* on the Taxila coins of about 200 B.C., and the "Ujjain mark" on coins of a similar early date.

The Kṣatrapa king Caṣṭana was probably a contemporary of Nahapāna, and he used the *chaitya* with sun and moon, as his symbol and that became the recognised symbol of the whole Kṣatrapa line during the three or four centuries that they continued to rule. None of the Kṣatrapas, however, appears to have ever used the "Ujjain symbol." Both the *chaitya* and the "Ujjain mark" are found, not on different sides of the coin, but close together, on the reverse of a coin of Sātakarṇi II. We should probably not be wrong in regarding these two as combining to form the Andhra symbol. Then we find that the Kṣatrapas used the *chaitya* without the "Ujjain mark," and it is interesting to remember that the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman claimed kinship with Sātakarṇi, and gave that as a reason for sparing him. The common use of the *chaitya* as a symbol may well be connected with that fact of relationship, a sort of heraldic quartering of their royal coats of arms.

I have only in conclusion to refer my readers to the excellent series of plates which have been very kindly prepared by Henry Cousens, Esq., from which the many points of interest to which I have drawn attention in my paper will be easily understood, and in the case of the diverse representations of the personal appearance of king Nahapāna, will be better realised than from any verbal description.

NAHAPĀNA'S COINS.

Obverse : Head of king facing to right : inscription in Greek and Roman characters : **PANNIW ZAKAPATAC NAHAITANAC** . No date.

Reverse : Thunderbolt and arrow : *Rājño Kṣaharatasa Nahapānasa* in Brāhmi characters ; *Rājño Chaharatasa Nahapānasa* in Kharoshthī characters.

Æ. Weight 29 to 32 grains.

SĀTAKARNI'S COINS.

Obverse : *Rājño Gotamiputasa Siri Satukanisa* in Brāhmi characters : *chaitya* : no date.

Reverse.—Ujjain symbol.

Counterstruck on Nahapāna's coins.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

Plate I.—First Row : Coins showing Greek transliteration in its correct form.

Second Row : Coins showing Brāhmi inscription.

Third Row : Coins showing Kharoṣṭhi inscription.

Fourth Row : Coins showing Greek transliteration in degenerate forms.

Fifty Row : Coins showing Kharoṣṭhi inscription in degenerate forms.

Sixty Row : Coins of Satakarni I, with his inscription complete.

Plate II.—Greek legend in pure form, varieties of bust.

Plate III.—Greek legend in degenerate form, varieties of bust.

Plate IV.—Specimens of counterstruck coins.

PLATE I.



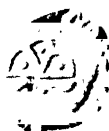
PLATE II.



PLATE III.



PLATE IV.



ART. XVII.—*The Coins of Sūrat.*

BY THE REV. GEO. P. TAYLOR, M.A., D.D., AHMADĀBĀD.

(Communicated)

Much that is doubtful has gathered round the story of the founding of the city of Sūrat. Tradition links its prosperity as a modern city with the name of Gopī, a rich Hindū trader, who settled on its present site early in the sixteenth century. One of the city-wards is still called after him Gopīparā, and a large reservoir, long since waterless, is still known as the Gopī Talāv. For a while the town, or perhaps we should rather say the suburb, so quickly rising under his fostering care, was termed simply the “new place”; but ere long certain astrologers, at a meeting convened by Gopī, suggested it might well be called Sūraj or Sūryapur, ‘the City of the Sun.’ Forthwith petition was made to the Sultān Muzaffar Karīm, as overlord of the district, that formal sanction might be given for the adoption of this name. Now Muzaffar was a staunchly orthodox adherent of the Muslim faith, and it could not have been quite to his liking that a new town in his dominions should thus be accorded a purely Hindū name; yet his naturally amiable disposition inclined him to accede, as far as might be, to the simple request. So, changing just the final letter of the word Sūraj, he decreed that the city should be called Sūrat (Persian سورت for Arabic سورة), a term surely free from all objection, since identical with the word employed to designate each chapter of the “glorious Qōr’ān.”

In his Gujarātī account of Sūrat, Narmadāsāṅkar gives the date of this naming of the city as A.D. 1520. But in this detail he has evidently been overprecise: for six years before 1520 the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa visited “a city called Surat at the mouth of a river,” and even thus early it was “a city of very great trade in all classes of merchandise.” Barbosa further relates that “Many ships of Malabar and all other parts sail thither continually, and discharge and take in goods, because this is a very important seaport, and there are in it very vast quantities of merchandise. Moors, Gentiles, and all sorts of people live in this city. Its custom-house, which they call Divana, produces a very large revenue for the King of Guzarat, and

until now Malaguioy, a Gentile, commands it, and governs it, as lord of it."¹

This so circumstantial reference to the prosperity of the city in the year 1514 renders inevitable the conclusion that Sūrat dates back considerably before the days of the merchant-prince Gopi. We may with probability infer that on the site of an ancient Hindū town called Sūryapur the present city was built, and that simultaneously with a phenomenal development of its trade in the first quarter of the sixteenth century the city's name was changed from Sūryapur to Sūrat.²

Owing both to its wealth and to its importance as a naval station, Sūrat early became an object of desire to the Portuguese, who on three several occasions assaulted and sacked the city—once in 1512, again in 1530, and yet again in 1531. Of the 1530 expedition Danvers concisely records that "Antonio da Silveira proceeded up the Tapti river, and burnt the city of Sūrat and the ships in the arsenal there, killing everything that had life within it, and taking away everything of value."³ The fort that had been built after the first invasion proving insufficient, the Sultān Maḥmūd (III) bin Laṭīf gave orders for the erection of the much stronger castle that still dominates the river.

In the latter part of the year 1572 (A. H. 980) the Emperor Akbar, gladly responding to an invitation from the disaffected noble Ē'timād Khān, swooped down with his army upon the province of Gujarāt, and in six short months had annexed it to his dominions. The recalcitrant Mirzās, who had found an asylum with Changiz Khān of Broach, and whose presence in Gujarāt had supplied Akbar a specious pretext for invasion, early in 1573 gained possession of Sūrat, and entrenched themselves within the Castle. Akbar, however, followed close on the rebels, and after a seven-weeks' siege took the city (24 Shawwāl 980 ; 27 Feb. 1573). Henceforward Sūrat, in common with the rest of the province, became an integral part of the Mughal Empire, and for the next two centuries shared in its vicissitudes.

¹ Stanley's Edition of Barbosa's "Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar," printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1866, pages 67, 68.

² Notwithstanding the contrary opinion maintained by Elliot and Dowson, it is well definitely to dissociate the name of the city Sūrat (Guj. સુરત) from that of the province Sorath (Guj. સોરઠ). This latter name is the Prakritized form of the Sanskrit Saurasthra (सौराष्ट्र), which originally denoted the whole of the Kathiawad Peninsula. It is, however, in its present application, limited to the *prant*, or district, in that Peninsula which borders the sea on the South and South-West. With an area of 520 square miles, it includes the Native States of Junagarh, Jafarabad, Porbandar, Bantva, and Jetpur.

³ F. C. Danvers : "The Portuguese in India," Vol. I, page 399.

I. The period of Local Mughal Currency: A. H. 985—1027; A. D. 1577—1618. It was within the first decade subsequent to its subjugation by Akbar that Sūrat for the first time issued coins from a mint of its own. Prior to this period its currency had consisted of the gold and silver and copper coins struck by the Gujarāt Sultāns for the most part at their capital city of Aḥmadābād. This Aḥmadābād mint, which in the early months of H. 980 had been producing coins for the ill-fated Sultān Muẓaffar III, was ere the close of that year impressed into service for the issue of imperial rupees, bearing the more illustrious name of Jalāl-al-dīn Akbar Pādshāh. But Sūrat in the year of its conquest possessed no mint that could be requisitioned for imperial coinage. So far as we can learn, it was in the year H. 985 (A. D. 1577-78) that Sūrat made its first contribution to the currency, and the coins then issued were of a type distinctly inferior both in workmanship and in weight to the rupees struck at Aḥmadābād and other of the Imperial Mints. Here, for instance, is Mandelslo's account of the coins that were current at his time (A. D. 1638) in the province of Gujarāt :—

“ They have also two sorts of money, to wit, the Mamoudies
 “ and the Ropias. The Mamoudis are made at Surat, of silver
 “ of a very base alloy, and are worth about twelve pence sterling,
 “ and they go only at Surat, Brodra, Broitchia, Cambaya, and
 “ those parts. Over all the Kingdom besides, as at Amadabath
 “ and elsewhere, they have Ropias Chagam, which are very good
 “ silver, and worth half a Crown French money.”¹

These “ Sūrat Maḥmūdīs,” we may confidently affirm, are identical with the silver coins which Stanley Lane-Poole has designated in the British Museum Catalogue “Coins of Gujarāt Fabric.” They are known only in silver, and are of two denominations corresponding in weight to the half and the quarter rupee. They are round coins, the larger ones having a diameter of six-tenths of an inch and the smaller of half an inch. The dates on the specimens known to me range from H. 985² to H. 1027. Then comes a blank for nearly two centuries, after which precisely the same type of coin reappears, but now with the dates H. 1215 and 1217 (A. D. 1800 and 1802).

The legend, which on all these Maḥmūdīs is the same, reads as follows :—(see Fig. 1).

¹ J. Albert de Mandelslo: “Voyages and Travels,” rendered into English by John Davies, Edition of 1662, p. 85.

² I had here and in the preceding paragraph originally written H. 989, but my friend, Mr. Framji J. Thanawala, after reading this article, sent him in MS. form, most kindly presented me two beautiful Maḥmūdīs—one dated H. 985 and the other H. 988.

Obverse.—In a square area bounded by double lines with dots between :

بادشاه
اکبر غازی
محمد
جلال الدین

Margins illegible.

Reverse.—In similar area :

لا اله الا الله
محمد
(رسول الله)

Margins illegible.

The figures denoting the Hijrī years are entered near the right-hand lower corner of the square area of the *Obverse*—over the *jim* of جلال. In the coin dated H. 985 the figures are upright, but on all specimens known to me of a later date they appear as though lying on their faces, having suffered rotation from the upright position through one quadrant to the left. It is worthy of special note that, though Akbar died in H. 1014, his name is retained unchanged on the coins struck subsequent to that date, whether in Jahāngīr's reign or even two hundred years later.¹

II. The Period of Imperial Mughal Currency : A. H. 1030—1215 ; A.D. 1620—1800.

In order to meet the demand for a purely local currency, the Sūrat Mint continued to issue its comparatively insignificant Maḥmūdī silverlings for a period of more than forty years, say, H. 985—1027, with a slight added margin for either limit. But at the close of that period this Mint seems to have been promoted to the grade of an Imperial Mint, and its thenceforward increased activity was evidenced by the production, and in considerable numbers, of all the different standard coins of the realm, the gold muhr, the silver rupee, and the copper fulūs. The following table shows for each of the Mughal Emperors (or Claimants to the throne) the metals in which coins from the Sūrat Mint are known to us to-day. It will be seen that, with the exception of five claimants (Dāwar Bakhsh, Shujā', Kām Bakhsh, Nikū-siyar and

¹ In the account here given of the Sūrat Maḥmūdīs, now more commonly called the coins of Gujārāt Fabric, I have availed myself of the conclusions established in two articles published in the Numismatic Supplement II from the Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXXIII, Part I, No. 2, 1904, and the Numismatic Supplement VI from the Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. I, No. 10, 1905.

Ibrāhīm) every ruler from Jahāngīr to Shāh 'Ālam II is represented by at least his silver pieces :—

SŪRAT MINT.					SŪRAT MINT.				
No.	Emperor or Claimant.	Metal.			No.	Emperor or Claimant.	Metal.		
		G.	S.	C.			G.	S.	C.
1	Jahāngīr ... Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān ...	...	S	C	11	Farrukh-siyar ...	...	S	C
		G	S	...	12	Rafī'al darajāt ...	...	S	C
2	Dāwar Bakhsh ...	...	...	...	13	Shāh Jahān I. ...	G	S	...
3	Shāh Jahān I. ...	G	S	C	14	Nikū-siyar ...	...	...	...
4	Shujā' ...	...	...	...	15	Ibrāhīm ...	...	...	...
5	Murād Bakhsh ...	...	S	C	16	Muḥammad ..	G	S	C
6	Aurangzeb ...	G	S	C	17	Aḥmad Shāh ...	...	S	...
7	A'zam Shāh ...	...	S	...	18	'Ālamgīr II. ...	...	S	...
8	Kām Bakhsh ...	...	...	...	19	Shāh Jahān III....	...	S	...
9	Shāh 'Ālam I. ...	G	S	C	20	Shāh 'Ālam II. ...	G	S	...
10	Jahāndār ...	G	S	C					

We have already seen that the latest known Sūrat Maḥmūdī is dated H. 1027. The earliest known Sūrat rupee—a rupee in the possession of my friend Mr. Framji Jamaspji Thanawala—is of the first month of the Hījrī year 1030¹, and from that date right on till H. 1215, or even a few years later, the Sūrat mint was more or less active. As the year H. 1215, however, witnessed both the resumption of the coinage of silver Maḥmūdīs and also the production of Sūrat muhrs and rupees by the Bombay mint of the East India Company, the issue of exclusively Imperial Mughal coins may be assigned to the 185 (lunar) years from A. H. 1030 till A. H. 1215. Accordingly we now proceed to register in their chronological order the legends on the different types of coins struck at the Sūrat mint during this period.

¹ Entry is made in the Lāhor Mus. Catal. (p. 70, No. 137) of an Akbarī rupee struck at Sūrat (صورت) in the month Jān. (جان) of the Ilahī year 38. This strange rupee, however, did not, we may confidently affirm, issue from the Sūrat (سورت) Mint.

JAHĀNGĪR : A. H. 1014—1037 ; A. D. 1605—1627.

A. From A. H. 1030—x (regnal year) till A. H. 1033—18.
Rupee (*see* Fig. 2) and half-rupee.

Obv.

نورالدین
جہا
بادشاہ
نکیر
۱۰۳۱

Rev.

ماہ فروردی الہی
سنہ ۱۷
سورت
ضرب

On two rupees of this type in the Lāhor Museum (Catalogue Nos. 143 and 179) the tail of the *re* in the word **الہی** is retracted across the face of the coin, and in one the word **سنہ** is wanting. Thus on these rupees the Reverse legends read as follow :—

ماہ ابان الہی and ماہ بہمن الہی
سنہ
سورت ۱۷
ضرب [ضرب]

B. From A. H. 1033-19 till A. H. 1037-22.

One muhr (Br. Mus. Catal. No. 513), several rupees (*see* Fig. 3), and a few half-rupees of this period are known, bearing on the Obverse the name of Jahāngīr and on the Reverse that of his Queen-consort Nūr Jahān.

Obv.

جہانگیر
زحکم شاہ
صد زیور
یافت
سورت
ضرب

Rev.

شاه
پاد
جهان
بنام نور زر
بیگم
۱۹ سنه ۱۰۳۳

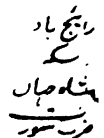
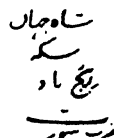
Thus the legend, covering both the Obverse and the Reverse, runs

ز حکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور
بنام نور جهان پادشاه بیگم زر

By order of Shāh Jahāngīr money gained a hundred beauties
Through the name of Nūr Jahān Pādshāh Begam.

SHĀH JAHĀN I. : A. H. 1037-1069 ; A. D. 1628-1659.

A. A. H. 1037-1
Rupee.

1. *Obv.*  or the variant (see Fig. 4) 

Rev.

لا اله الا الله
محمد
رسول الله
سنه
۱۰۳۷

2. (See Fig. 5) *Obv.*

غازی
جهان پادشاه
شاه
صاحبقران ثانی
سنه
محمد
شهاب الدین

Rev.

لا اله الا الله
محمد
رسول الله
ضرب ١٠٣٧
سورت

B. From *Hijrī* 1037—**احد** till *Hijrī* 1042—x.

Rupee (see Fig. 6) and half-rupee.

Both on Obverse and on Reverse the legend is bounded by two concentric linear circles between which comes a circle of dots.

Obv.

پادشاه غازے
شاه جهان سنہ احد
محمد
شہاب الدین

نے
صاحب قران ثا

Rev.

لا اله الا الله
محمد
رسول الله
ضرب
سورت

سنہ ١٠٣٧ ہجری

It was in this year 1037 that the term *Hijrī* (ہجری) was for the first time entered on the coins of Sūrat.

From some specimens of rupees of this period in the cabinet of the Bombay Asiatic Society it would seem that the entry of the regnal year was occasionally omitted altogether.

C. From A. H. x—*Ilahī* 4 (1) till A. H. x—*Ilahī* 5 (12).¹

Only two coins of this type have been published, and both are muhrs : one is in the British Museum and the other at Lāhor.

Obv. Same as B.

¹ The bracketed figure indicates the month : thus *Ilahī* 4 (1) means the first month—Farwardin—of the *Ilahī* year 4 ; and similarly *Ilahī* 5 (12) the twelfth month—Isfandārmuz—of the *Ilahī* year 5.

Rev.

لا اله الا الله
 محمد
 رسول الله
 ضرب
 سنة ٤ سورت الهى
 مائة فرورده

D. From A. H. x—6 till A. H. 1046—9.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 7).*Obv.* In square area with knotted corners.

بادشاه غازى
 شاه جهان
 Margin : upper : شهاب الدين
 : right : محمد صاحب
 : lower : قران ثانى
 : left : ضرب سورت

Rev. In square area with knotted corners.

لا اله الا الله
 محمد
 رسول الله ٩
 Margin : lower : بصدق ابى بكر
 : left : وعدل ١٠٤٩ عمر
 : upper : بازرع عثمان
 : right : وعلم علي

It will be observed that on the rupees of this type both the Hijri and the regnal year are entered on the Reverse, the former in the left margin and the latter in the left lower corner of the area. The two dates are thus brought fairly close together.

A gold coin of the year H. 1047, now in the Bombay Asiatic Society's cabinet, bears the regnal year both on the Reverse as in type D and also on the Obverse as in type E. This interesting muhr thus serves as a link connecting both those types.

E. From A. H. 1048—12 till A. H. 1051—14.

Rupee.

Obv. } Same as in D,
Rev. }

but the regnal year is now removed from the Reverse area, and is entered instead in the right-hand margin of the Obverse. Thus

محمد صاحب (See Fig. 8) or, more commonly, محمد صاحب

F. From A. H. 1052—16 till A. H. 1067—30 (but note G below).

Rupee.

Obv. } Same as in D,
Rev. }

but the regnal year is now entered not on the Reverse, but in the right-hand lower corner of the Obverse area (see Fig. 9). The Shāh Jahānī Sūrāt rupees most in evidence are of this type. One specimen in my possession is square (see Fig. 10), measuring 77 inch, and weighing 178 grains.¹ Its Hijrī year is indistinct, but seems to be either 1055 or 1059, and its regnal year is wanting.

G. A. H. 1057—20 and A. H. 1057—21.

Rupee (see Fig. 11) and half-rupee.

Obv. In area enclosed by a wavy diamond border.

پادشاه غازے
شاه جهان
۲۱

Margin : left upper : شهاب الدین
: right upper : محمد صاحب
: right lower : قران ثانی
: left lower : ضرب سورت

¹The late Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, in his article on "Antiquarian Remains at Sopārā and Padana," contributed to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XV, No. XL, tells of his obtaining at Sopārā about ten coins of white metal, all of them square, and all bearing the legend of Shāh Jahān. He adds (p. 279), "I believe these coins were perhaps struck at Sōpārā to replace the Portuguese white metal coins, which were current in this part of the country. I may mention that, except here, I have never found a white metal Moghal coin." Now Sopārā is otherwise unknown as a mint town, and it is extremely improbable that at this long since decayed emporium of trade a mint should have been opened by the Mughals solely for the production of white metal coins. Through the generosity of my kind friend Mr. Frāmji Jāmaspiji Thānāwālā four of these tutenag coins are now in my possession, and though on none of them can the place of mintage be deciphered, still the coins themselves resemble so closely the square rupee mentioned as type F that I incline to assign both to one and the same mint. But the rupee distinctly bears the name of its mint-town Sūrāt, and hence we may with probability infer that it was from Sūrāt these rare tutenag coins issued.

Rev. In similar area :

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

Margin : right lower : بصدق ابي بكر

: left lower : وعدل ١٠٥٧ عمر

: left upper : بازرم عثمان

: right upper : وعلم علي

H. A. H. 1067—31 and A. H. 1068—31.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 12).

Obv. In circular area :

پادشاه غازي

شاه ٣١ جهان

The marginal legend, starting from the left upper portion, reads consecutively :—

شهاب الدين محمد صاحب قران ثاني ضرب سورت

Rev. In similar area .

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

The marginal legend, starting from the left upper portion, reads consecutively.

بصدق ١٠٩٧ ابي بكر وعدل عمر بازرم عثمان وعلم علي

In one of my specimens the year ١٠٩٧ is by a freak written ١٠٢٧

In the rupee of the year A. H. 1068—31 the marginal legend on the Reverse begins not at the left upper but at the right lower portion.

J. A. H. 1068—31.

The Indian (Calcutta) Museum Catalogue registers a rupee (No. 13149 on page 35) as follows :—

Obv. In square.

پادشاه غازي

شاه جهان

شاه (31st year) under ٣١

Margins as in Obverse of D.

Rev. Kalima in a circle ; margins as usual ; and date ١٠٩٨

K. A. H. 1069—32.

Obv. } Same as in D,
Rev. }

but with the regnal year entered not on the Reverse, but over the word شاه in the lower line of the square area on the Obverse. The legend in this area thus reads :—

بادشاهه
شاه جهان

My cabinet contains two *Copper* coins of Shāh Jahān from the Sūrat Mint. These are dated A. H. x—29 and A. H. 1077 (? 1067)—30. Their legends are alike, and read as follows :—

Obv.

شاه جهان

ملوس ۳۰

Rev.

سور
سنه ۱۰۷۷

MURĀD BAKHSH : A. H. 1068 ; A. D. 1657-58.

A. A. H. 1068. Rupee (*see* Fig. 13) and half-rupee.

مراد شاه غازے
محمد سکندر ثانی
ز صاحبقران جهانے
گرفت
از ث احد
سنه

Muḥammad Murād, the victorious King, the Second Alexander,
Took the heritage from (Shāh) Jahān, the "Lord of the Conjunction."

Rev.

لا اله الا الله

محمد

ز سوان الله

ضرب

سورت

۱۰۶۸

B. A. H. 1068. Rupee (*see* Fig. 14) and half-rupee.

Obv. In square area with knotted corners.

پادشاه غازی
محمد مراد بخش

Margin : right : ابوالمظفر

: lower : مزوج الدین "Wedded to the Faith."

: left : ضرب سورت

: upper : بالهی سنہ احد

Rev. In similar area :

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

Margin : right : بصدق ابی بکر

: lower : وعدل عمر

: left : بازرم عثمان

۱۰۶۸

: upper : وعلم علی

A Fulūs of Murād Bakhsh is described, and figured, in the Numismatic Supplement I of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. LXXIII, Part I, No. 1, 1904). Its legends are very simple :—

Obv.

مراد شاهي
فلوس

Rev

سور احمد
ضرب

AURANGZEB : A. H. 1069—1118 ; A. D. 1659—1707.

A. A. H. 1070—احد Rupee (*see* Fig. 15) and half-rupee.

Obv.

عالم گیر
اورنگ زیب
شاه
زد چو بد ز منیر
سکه

دز جهان ۱۰۷۰

Rev.

بندر مبارک سورت

صرب

میمنت مانوس

جلوس احد

This interesting rupee supplies us the only "honorific epithet" assigned on the Mughal Coins to the city of Sūrat, which is here styled "Bandar mubārak," the blessed Port. The origin of this title is doubtless to be found in the fact that Sūrat was the chief port of embarkation for Indian Muslims on pilgrimage to Makka. For this same reason the city is also sometimes designated (though not on coins) the Bāb al Hajj, or Gate of Pilgrimage. Terry in his "Voyage to East India" refers¹ in the following terms to the pilgrim-traffic from Sūrat in the second decade of the seventeenth century :—

"The ship, or junk, for so it is called, that usually goes from Sūrat to Moha, is of an exceeding great burden, some of them, I believe, fourteen or fifteen hundred tons, or more, but these huge vessels are very ill built, like an over-grown lighter, broad and short, but made exceeding big, on purpose to waft passengers forward and backward ; which are Mahometans, who go on purpose to visit Mahomet's sepulchre at Medina, near Mecca, but many miles beyond Moha. The passengers, and others, in that most capacious vessel that went and returned that year I left India, (as we were credibly told) amounted to the number of seventeen hundred. Those Mahometans that have visited Mahomet's sepulchre are after called Hoggees², or holy men."

Another, but distinctly less probable, explanation of the origin of the epithet Bandar mubārak is given in the Bombay Gazetteer from a local history written by Bakhshi Mia walad Shāh Ahmad. It is there recorded that, when orders were issued (cir. A. D. 1540) by the Sultān Maḥmūd (III) bin Laṭīf for the erection of the Castle at Sūrat, the Turk Ṣafī Āghā, to whom the work had been entrusted, submitted three plans. "The King chose the one that placed the Castle on the bank of the river, and under this plan wrote the word *mubārak*, or 'the prosperous.' Hence the city up to this day is called *Surat bandar mubārak*."³

¹ Edward Terry. "A Voyage to East India": reprinted (in 1777) from the edition of 1655, pages 130, 131.

² حاجي Hāji (for Ḥājji). 'one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.'

³ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II (Surat and Broach), page 72, note 1.

- B. A. H. 1071--3 and A. H. 1078--10 till 1080--12.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 16) and half-rupee.

Obv.

عالم گیر
اورنگ زیب
شاہ
زد چو بد رمنیر
سکہ ۱۰۷۱

Rev.

در جهان
سنہ ۳ جلوس
میمنت
مانوس
ضرب
سورت

- C. From A. H. 1075--x till A. H. 1089--22 (*but see* B).
Muhr (B. M. Catal. No. 707), rupee (*see* Fig. 17) and half-rupee.

Obv. Same as in B.

Rev.

سنہ ۸ جلوس
میمنت
مانوس
سورت
ضرب

Of rupees dated 1079--11 and 1080--12 the Reverse in some specimens follows type B, and in others type C.

- D. A. H. 1089--22. Rupee (*see* Fig. 18) and half-rupee.

Obv.

عالم گیر
اورنگ زیب
۱۰۸۹
شاہ
زد چو بد رمنیر
سکہ
در جهان

Rev. Same as in C.

E. From A. H. 1090—22 till A. H. 1118—51.

Muhr (probably of this type in Indian Museum A. H. x—29; A. H. x—30; A. H. x—42); rupee (*see* Fig. 19) and half-rupee.

Obv.

عالم گیر
۱۱۰۴
اورنگ زیب

Rev.

زد چو بدر منیر
سکه
در جهان
مانوس
میمنت
سنه ۳۴ جلوس
ضرب
سورت

This is quite the most common of all the types of coins struck at Sūrat in the reign of Aurangzeb.

The Brit. Mus. rupees, Nos. 796, 796a, dated A. H. 1105—37, have the Reverse "counterstruck with galloping horseman."

The arrangement here shown of the words of the Reverse legend is worthy of special note, since adopted on all the gold and silver coins struck at Sūrat in or after the reign of Jahāndār (A. H. 1124).

Of the *Copper* coins of Aurangzeb from the Sūrat mint two distinct types are known.

A. From A. H. x—4 till A. H. x—11.

Obv.

اورنگ زیب
فلوس شاہ

Rev.

ت
سور ۴
سنه
ضرب

B. From A. H. 1080—13 till A. H. 1119—x (see Fig. 20).

Obv.

سنة ۱۰۸۰
جلوس
ب

Rev.

سنة ۱۰۸۹
سورت
ب
ضر

The exaggerated elongation of the upper stroke of the letters alif, kāf, and lām on the Obverse is also found on Aurangzeb's copper coins struck at Lāhor and Akbarābād. See Lāhor Museum Catalogue, page 195, Nos. 18 and 20.

Fulūs of this curious type are not infrequently to be found in the Aḥmadābād bazar, but a specimen in good condition is rare indeed.

A'ZAM SHĀH : A. H. 1118—19 ; A. D. 1707.

A. A. H. 1119—حد | Rupee (see Fig. 21).

Obv.

سالك ۱۱۱۹ اعظم شاه
بدولت وجاه ياد

Rev.

سکه
زد در جهان
جلوس اشرف
ف
سنه احد
ضرب
سورت

This is an exceedingly rare coin.

SHĀH 'ĀLAM I : A. H. 1119—1124 ; A. D. 1707—1712.

A. From A. H. x—حد | till A. H. 1123—6.

Muhr (Ind. Mus. Catal., p. 50, No. 10909), rupee (*see* Fig. 22) and half-rupee.

Obv.

۱۱۲۲ غازی

پادشاه

بہادر

شاہ عالم

ک

سکہ مبارک

Rev.

۴ مانو

سنہ جلوس س

میمنت

ضرب

سورت

JAHĀNDĀR : A. H. 1124 ; A. D. 1712—13.

A. A. H. 1124—حد)

Rupee (*see* Fig. 23) and half-rupee.

Obv.

پادشاه

جہاندارشہ

جہان

چو صاحب قران

سکہ

بزد برزر ۱۱۲۴

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

B. A. H. 1124—حد)

Rupee (*see* Fig. 24).

Obv. Same as in A, but with م substituted for ز in the lowest line, which thus reads :—

بزد بر م ۱۱۲۴

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

C. A. H. 1124—حد

Muhr (B. M. Catal., No. 879) and rupee (*see* Fig. 25).

Obv. ابو الفتح غازي جهاندار
شاه
چون مهر و ماه
سکه ۱۱۲۴
در افاق زد

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

A *Copper* coin of Jahāndār struck at Sūrāt, and now in my possession, reads as follows :—

Ac. Date wanting.

Obv. جهاندارم
نکوسر بادشا

Rev. سنه احد جلوس
ضرب
سور

The Reverse legend seems from the above fragment to have been identical with that of the E type of Aurangzeb.

FARRUKH-SIYAR : A. H. 1124—1131 ; A.D. 1713—1719.

A. From A. H. x—2 till A. H. 1131—8.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 26) and half-rupee.

Obv. محمد رفیع سیار
از فضل حق باد
شاه
سکه ۱۱۲۸
در بر سیم زد

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

Mr. Frāmji Jāmaspji Thānāwālā possesses an undated *Copper* coin struck at Sūrāt in the reign of Farrukh-siyar. From drawings that

he has been so kind as to send me it is evident that this Fulūs bears portions of the following legends :—

Obv.

فرخ سیر
شاه
فلوس پاد

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

Compare also the copper coin of Farrukh-siyar, No. 36, in King and Vost's "Some Novelties in Moghal Coins" (Num. Chron., Vol. XVI, Third Series).

RAFĪ'AL DARAJĀT : A. H. 1131 ; A. D. 1719.

A. A. H. 1131—احد | Rupee (*see* Fig. 27).

Obv.

۱۱۳۱ رفیع الدرجات
ت
برکات شاهنشہ بحروب
ت
زد بازاران
سکہ بہند

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

A *Copper* coin in my collection bears only the following fragmentary inscription :—

Obv.

رفیع الدرجات
ت

Rev.

.....
سکہ احد جلوس
ضرب
سورت

SHĀH JAHĀN II : A. H. 1131 ; A. D. 1719.

A. A. H. 1131—احد | Muhr and Rupee (*see* Fig. 28) and half-rupee

Obv.

شاه جهان
ے
پادشاه غاز
ک
سکہ مبار ۱۱۳۱

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

MUḤAMMAD SHĀH : A. H. 1131—1161 ; A. D. 1719—1748.

A. A. H. 1131—**احد** - and —1132 **احد** |

Muhr (B. M. Catal, No. 953) and Rupee (*see* Fig. 29).

Obv.

بلف الم محمد

شاه

پادشاه زمان

سکم

زد در جهان ۱۱۳۱

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

The few coins known of this type were till recently attributed to Nikū-siyar, that unfortunate prince—a grandson of Aurangzeb—who, having suffered imprisonment for forty years, was suddenly raised to the Imperial throne, and after but 105 days of regal splendour was again consigned to the dungeon in the fort at Āgra. However we can now with confidence affirm that no coins issued in Nikū-siyar's name from the Sūrat mint. In the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for April, 1899 (pages 55, 56), Mr. Irvine supplied the translation of an interesting passage from the Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī, in which it is distinctly recorded that, on receipt at Sūrat of the tidings of Muḥammad Shāh's elevation to the throne, an official assembly was convened, at which the accession was proclaimed by beat of drum, and the royal prayer (*khutba*) was recited. Forthwith coins were struck at Sūrat, bearing, according to the express statement of the Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī, the very legend that distinguishes the type now under discussion.

Muḥammad Shāh began to reign only some six weeks before the close of the year 1131 Hijri, and coins of this rare "Pādshāh Zamān" type are known dated that year and the following. Before the close, however, of the first year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign the new-fangled legend, which had nowhere indeed won acceptance save at the Sūrat mint, was abandoned, and thereupon Sūrat, falling into line with the other imperial mints, began to issue coins bearing that "Pādshāh Ghāzī" inscription which remained till the close of Muḥammad's reign, some thirty years later, the norm for the imperial currency. Thus the

coins—muhrs and rupees—struck at Sūrāt during Muḥammad Shāh's first regnal year fall into three classes :—

- (a) Those dated 1131 H., and bearing the "Pādshāh Zamān" legend;
- (b) those dated 1132 H., and bearing the same rare legend ;
- (c) those dated 1132 H., and bearing the normal "Pādshāh Ghāzī" legend.

B. From A. H. 1131—حد—till A. H. 1155—25.

Muhr (Br. Mus. Catal., No. 967*a*) and rupee (*see* Fig. 30).

Obv. محمد شاه ۱۱۳۳

—
پادشاه غاز.
ك
سکه مبار

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

Two types are known of Muḥammad Shāh's *Copper* coins of Sūrāt.

A. *Obv.* محمد شاه

شاه
فلوس یاد ۱۱۳۲

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

B. *Obv.* محمد شاه غاز

—
فلوس.....

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

AḤMAD SHAH : A. H. 1161-1167 ; A. D. 1748-1754.

A. A. H. x—حد— and A. H. x—2.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 31).

Obv. شاه بهادر

پادشاه غاز
ك
سکه مبار

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

'ĀLAMGĪR II. : A. H. 1167—1173 ; A. D. 1754—1759.

A. From A. H. 11 x x—2 till A. H. x—5.

*Double rupee*¹ (see Fig. 32) and *rupee*.

Obv.

... عالم گیر

—

پادشاه غاز

ل

سکه مبار

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

SHĀH JAHĀN III. : A. H. 1173—1174 ; A. D. 1759—1760.

A. A. H. 117 x—حد | ; [11|75—حد | ; 1178—حد | ; 118 x—حد |

Rupee (see Fig. 33) and *half-rupee*.

Obv.

... | 117

شاه جهان

—

پادشاه غاز

ل

سکه مبار

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

As Shāh Jahān was deposed on the 29th of Šafar, A. H. 1174², it is difficult to account satisfactorily for the dates [11]75, 1178, and 118 x, all coupled with the regnal year حد | . That other claimants bearing the name of Shāh Jahān arose in these years to contest the crown with Shāh 'Ālam is not, so far as I can discover, recorded in any history of India. May we venture to assume that the workmen at the Sūrat mint had grown careless, and that these years find a place on the coins through mistake ?

¹ For a description and illustration of this Double Rupee see Mr. Nelson Wright's articles in Numismatic Supplement V, Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. I., No. 10, 1905.

² See Dowson and Elliot's: "History of India," Vol. VIII., p. 278.

SHĀH 'ĀLAM II. : A.H. 1173—1221 ; A.D. 1759—1806.

A. H. x-4 ; A. H. x-5 ; A. H. x-6 ; also from A. H. 1197—24 till A.H. x-49.

Double rupee ¹, rupee (*see* Fig. 34), half-rupee, and 2-anna piece.

Obv.

۱۱۹۷

شاه عالم

ع

پادشاه غاز

ک

سکه مبارک

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

In A. H. 1215 (A. D. 1800), if not indeed earlier, the East India Company's mint at Bombay struck "Sūrat" muhrs and rupees : but the evidence from coins still occasionally to be obtained in the bazars precludes the inference that in that year the Mughal coinage ceased to issue from the Sūrat mint. It would seem to have lingered on for a few more years, though, doubtless, the output was small. My cabinet contains a rupee of the regnal year 46 of make quite different from the familiar "46 san rupee" issued by the H. E. I. Company; also another rupee of distinctly native workmanship yet bearing as its date so late a regnal year as 49, the very last year of Shāh 'Ālam's reign.

III. The period of the East India Company's Currency : A. H. 1215—1251 ; A.D. 1800—1835².

The year H. 1215 witnessed a revival of the old Sūrat Maḥmūdī coinage, bearing the name of the Emperor Akbar, deceased nearly two centuries, a revival that continued seemingly for just two years. What circumstances led up to the issue of so old a type of coin, and, further, what occasioned its final withdrawal, are questions that still await a satisfactory answer. Can these coins have been struck by

¹ On this double rupee, dated A. H. x-4, in the possession of Mr. R. F. Malabār-wālā of Bombay, *see* the article by Mr. Nelson Wright in the Numismatic Supplement V. Compare also Note 17.

² In the Indian Museum Catalogue, page 99f, all the Sūrat coins of the East India Company are entered as dated either H. 1215 or H. 1210. If these readings be correct, the figures are probably in both cases due to faulty workmanship in the engraving of the dies, thus ۱۲۰۵ for ۱۲۱۵ and ۱۲۱۰ also for ۱۲۱۵.

way of protest against the imperious action of the H. E. I. Company in issuing its "Sūrat" rupees in that same year H. 1215? And was the so early disappearance of these Maḥmūdīs in H. 1217 an indirect consequence of that year's treaty at Bassein, whereby sole and undisputed control over the district became vested in the English? These problems we must, I fancy, be content to leave for the present unsolved.

If the East India Company struck any "Sūrat" coins, whether in that city or in Bombay, prior to H. 1215, they are undistinguishable from the Mughal coins. The Company's muhrs and rupees, which, according to Prinsep, the Bombay Mint¹ recommenced issuing in A.D. 1800 (A.H. 1214-15), were all struck in the name of the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam, and on all were inscribed the same Obv. and Rev. legends as had for forty years obtained on his coins.

Thus : *Obv.*

شاه عالم
—
پادشاه غاز
ل
سکه مبار

Rev.—Same as in the E type of Aurangzeb.

As to their fabric, however, the Company's coins struck at Sūrat readily fall into two classes—those of native fabric or hand-made, and those of English fabric or machine-made.

A. The H. E. I. Company's "Sūrat" Coins of Native Fabric were issued in both gold and silver. Of these four sub-classes may be distinguished :—



- (a) On the Obverse over the شاه of پادشاه comes an oval label, bearing the figures of the Christian year 1802. Also on the Reverse the جلوس of ر is superscribed by a crowned head. *See* Brit. Mus. Catal., page 281, No. 81.
- (b) On the Obverse for the uppermost of the dots over شاه of پادشاه a small crown is substituted. On the Reverse the regnal year is 46. *See* Brit. Mus. Catal., page 281, No. 82.

¹ One coin—a quarter-rupee—is entered in the British Museum Catalogue (p. 280, No. 80) as having been struck at the mint "Mumbai-Sūrat." This is, however, a curious error, for the coin really issued from the mint at Mahisūr (Mysore). *See* Numismatic Supplement V, Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. I, No. 4, 1905.


(c) The coins of this sub-class are identical with those of

save that the distinctive crown is absent. These coins are thus in appearance virtually the same as the *Mughal* coins struck in the regnal year 46. See Brit. Mus. Catal., page 282, No. 87.

(d) The Obverse and the Reverse are the same as in

but the silver coins of this sub-class bear the figures 1825 incused on a raised label on the Reverse over the  of  (See Fig. 35). See Brit. Mus. Catal., page 282, No. 85.

B. The H. E. I. Company's Sūrat coins, in gold and silver, of English Fabric. Of these are the following three sub-classes :—

(a) Edge milled with straight milling , and both on Obverse and on Reverse linear circle round rim (see Fig. 36).

(b) Plain edge, and both on Obverse and on Reverse serrated rim (see Fig. 37).

(c) Plain edge, and both on Obverse and on Reverse raised plain rim (see Fig. 38).

All the "Sūrat" coins of English Fabric bear, as their date, above the top line of the Obverse the Hijri year 1215 and (with, perhaps, the sole exception of the 1802 muhrs) all the Company's "Sūrat" coins, whether of Native or of English Fabric, have, as a fixed date, the regnal year 46.

The machine-made coins of the H. E. I. Company continued in circulation till A. D. 1835 (A. H. 1250-51), and, finally, that year witnessed the introduction of the uniform Imperial Coinage which still constitutes the standard currency for all British India.

AHMADĀBĀD,

12th May, 1906.

The chief interest of this article certainly attaches to the three Plates that illustrate it. These have been prepared from beautiful photographs of the original coins taken by my kind friend, Mr. Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., the accomplished Superintendent of the

Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, who, as on previous occasions, so now again, has thus placed the readers of this *Journal* under a debt of obligation.

G. P. T.

PLATE I.

No.	Emperor.	YEAR.		Metal.	Weight in Grains.	Typical of Hijri Period.
		Hijri.	Regnal.			
1	Akbar ...	994	...	Silver.	86	Cir. 985—1027 and 1215—1217 H.
2	Jahāngīr ...	1031	17	S	175	1030—1033 H.
3	Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān ...	1033	19	S	176	1033—1037 H.
4	Shāh Jahān I. ...	1037	1	S	175	1037 H.
5	" ...	1037	1	S	175	1037 H.
6	" ...	1037	1	S	174	1037 <i>Hijri</i> (written).
7	" ...	1046	9	S	171	1043—1046 H.
8	" ...	...	12	S	176	1048—1051 H.
9	" ...	...	20	S	174	1052—1067 H.
10	" ...	?	?	S	177	?-square.
11	" ...	1057	21	S	176	1057 H.

PLATE II.

No.	Emperor.	YEAR.		Metal.	Weight in Grains.	Typical of Hijri Period.
		Hijri.	Regnal.			
12	Shāh Jahān I. ...	1067	31	Silver.	176	1067-1068 H.
13	Murād Baksh ...	1068	1	S	176	1068 H.
14	" ...	1068	1	S	176	1068 H.
*15	Aurangzeb ...	1070	1	S	175	1070 H.
16	" ...	1071	3	S	174	1071—1078 H.
†17	" ...	...	8	S	176	1075—1089 H.
‡18	" ...	1089	...	S	176	1089 H.
19	" ...	1104	36	S	175	1090—1118 H.
20	" ...	1089	22	Copper.	212	1089—1119 H.
21	A'zam Shāh ...	1119	1	S	170	1118—1119 H.
22	Shāh 'Ālam I. ...	1122	4	S	177	1119—1123 H.

* On this rupee Sūrat bears the epithet *Bandar mubārak*.

† Reverse only is shown on the Plate.

‡ Obverse only is shown on the Plate.

PLATE III.

No.	Emperor.	YEAR.		Metal.	Weight in Grains.	Typical of Hġri Period.
		Hġri.	Regnal.			
*23	Jahārdār ...	1124	...	Silver.	176	1124 H.
*24	" ...	1124	...	S	176	1124 H.
*25	" ...	1124	...	S	177	1124 H.
*26	Farrukh-siyar ...	1128	...	S	177	1125—1131 H.
*27	Rafī 'al darajāt ...	1131	...	S	177	1131 H.
*28	Shāh Jahān II ...	1131	...	S	177	1131 H.
*29	Muhammad Shāh.	1131	...	S	177	1131—1132 H.
*30	" ...	1133	...	S	177	1131—1155 H.
*31	Ahmad Shāh ...	...	...	S	174	1161—1162 H.
†32	'Ālamgīr II ...	...	5	S	357	1171 H.
*33	Shāh Jahān III ...	117 x	...	S	176	117 x—118 x H.
*34	Shāh 'Ālam II ...	1197	...	S	165	1177—1221 H.
35	Shāh 'Ālam II ...	1825 A.D.	...	S	180	} Struck by the H. E. I. Com- pany.
36	" ...	1215 H.	...	S	177	
*37	" ...	1215 H.	...	S	179	
†38	" ...	...	46	S	83	

* Obverse only is shown on the Plate.

† This is a Double Rupee.

‡ The Reverse only of this Half Rupee is shown on the Plate.

PLATE I.

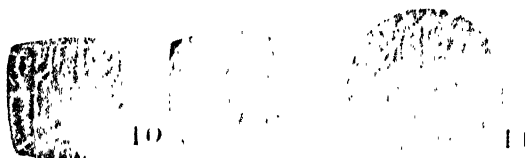
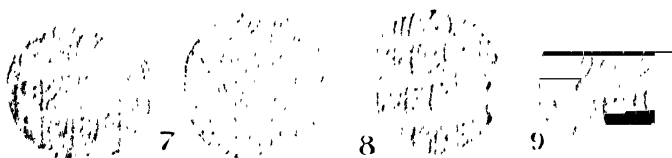
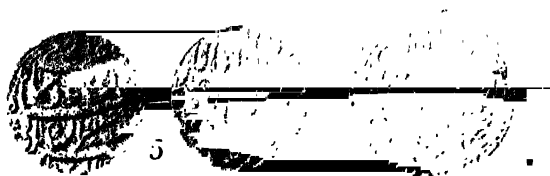
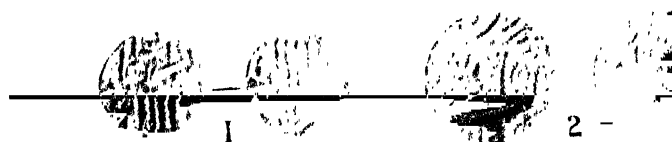


PLATE II.



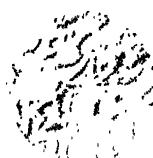
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13



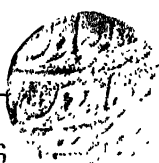
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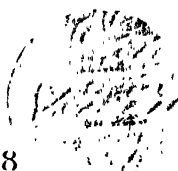
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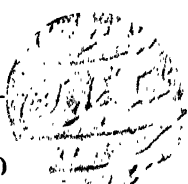
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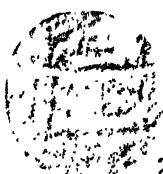
17



19



20



21



22

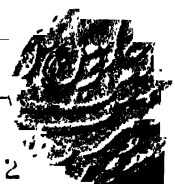
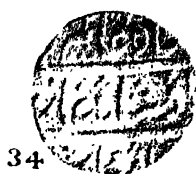
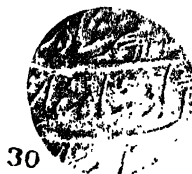
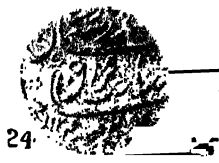
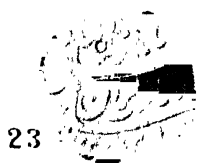


PLATE III.



**ART. XVIII.—Bombay, as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the
year 1754 A.D.**

BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

(Read 12th October 1906.)

Dr. Edward Ives was a Surgeon in His Majesty's Navy and served in the Mediterranean from 1744 to 1746. Then he served for some years in England. From 1753 to 1757 he was Surgeon of the "Kent," bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Charles Watson, Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies. On the Admiral's death in 1757, he retired from service in India and returned home *via* Persian Gulf. He reached England in 1759. He continued on half pay till 1777. He was then superannuated in 1777. He died in 1786. It was in 1773 that he published his book of Travels.¹ The title of the book is rather a very long one. It runs thus :

" A
Voyage from
England to India
In the year MDCCLIV.
And an
Historical Narrative
of

The Operations of the Squadron and Army in India, under the Command of Vice-Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, in the years 1755, 1756, 1757 ; including a Correspondence between the Admiral and the Nabob Serajah Dowlah.

Interspersed with
Some interesting passages relating to the manners, customs, &c., of
several nations in Indostan

Also, a
Journey from Persia to England
By an unusual route
With

An Appendix
Containing an account of the diseases prevalent in Admiral
Watson's squadron ; a description of most of the trees, shrubs, and

¹ *Vide Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XXIX (1891), p. 79.

plants of India, with their real, or supposed, medicinal virtues : Also a copy of a letter written by a late ingenious physician, on the disorders incidental to Europeans at Gombroon in the Gulf of Persia,

Illustrated with a Chart, Maps and other Copper-plates

By EDWARD IVES, ESQ.,

Formerly Surgeon of Admiral Watson's ship and
of His Majesty's Hospital in the East Indies.

London.

Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly.

MDCCLXXIII."

I find this book mentioned in the Catalogue of the books of the library of our Society printed in 1875, as "Ives (Edward).—Voyage from England to India, also a Journey from Persia to England, 4to. Lond., 1773." It is marked as AA-a-17. But its name bears an asterisk in the printed catalogue, which means that in 1775 the book was either "damaged or missing." I find on inquiry from our librarian that it is missing.

The late Dr. Gerson DaGunha has given us an excellent paper entitled "The Origin of Bombay." It is published in 1900 as an extra number of the Journal of our Society. Therein, Dr. Ives's book is not referred to. The Bombay Gazetteer¹ refers to this book especially in its account of the Ângriâs.² Therein, Dr. Ives's account of the taking of Gheria by Admiral Watson is interpolated in the larger account³ from Robert Orme.⁴ I am not sure if the writer of the Gazetteer has quoted directly from Dr. Ives's book, as I find some discrepancies in the references given.⁵ Again Dr. Ives's book is referred to in the Bombay Quarterly Review of 1857.⁶ But, I find that, as far as I know, Dr. Ives's short account of Bombay is not referred to at any length by any writer, at least on this side of the country. So, the object of this paper is to give a short account of Bombay as seen by Dr. Ives in 1754.

¹ Vol. I, Part II., pp. 88, 93, 94. Vol. X, pp. 381, 382. Vol. XIII, p. 499.

² Vol. I, Part II, pp. 87—96.

³ A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745, Vol. I, (Fourth Edition of 1790), pp. 407—417.

⁴ For the life of this author, *vide* "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Marattoes, and of the English concerns in Indostan, from the year 1659," by Robert Orme (1805,) pp. V—LXVII.

⁵ For example (a) the Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II, p. 95, n. 1. There, the p. 82 referred to in the note does not refer to the matter spoken of. (b) The page referred to as p. 82 of Ives on p. 94 of the Gazetteer must be p. 85.

⁶ The Bombay Quarterly Review, Vol. V, January and April, 1857, p. 162. Article entitled "An Age of Progress in Bombay."

From his title page, we learn that, though the year of our author's principal visit of Bombay was 1754, the book was published in 1773, *i.e.*, about 19 years afterwards. It was dedicated to Sir Charles Watson, Bart., the son of the Admiral in whose fleet Dr. Ives had served and visited India. The dedication is interesting, as it aims thereby to set before a son, for his improvement, the example of a worthy father. It says: "If what I have written of your excellent Father . . . shall contribute to your improvement, and set you forward in the paths of virtue, I then shall be beyond measure happy."

Our author thus describes the occasion of his voyage.

"Immediately after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, or as soon as our sea and land forces under the command of Admiral Boscawen had left the Indies and were on their return to England, Mons. Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry, began by his intrigues to sow the seeds of dissention among the country princes; and when he had so far succeeded as to set them at variance with one another, he sent a body of European troops into the field, as auxiliaries to those Nabobs who espoused the French interest, and who, by dint of this supply, gained several successive advantages over the other princes who were friends to our East India Company. Mustapha-Jing, a powerful prince, and Chunda-Sach, an enterprising general, were those with whom he was principally connected, and whom he made use of as instruments for bringing out his ambitious designs—Designs no less extensive, than of acquiring for his nation an absolute ascendancy over the whole Carnatic and Deccan, and for himself, immortal honour and immense riches. The English presidency were possessed of such convincing proofs of his insatiable avarice, and thirst for power, that they prudently and resolutely determined to exert their utmost abilities in putting a stop to his violent, and hitherto rapid proceedings; for that purpose, they, under the character of allies, joined their forces with the armies of a prince called Nazir-Jing, and of the Nabob of Arcot named Mahomed-Aly, against whom their enemies were now taking the field¹."

Admiral Watson's flag ship "Kent," of which our author was the medical officer, left Spithead for Plymouth, the rendezvous of the fleet, on 22nd February 1754. They left Portsmouth on 9th March and sailed for Cork in Ireland, to take on board from there, the king's troops under command of Col. Adlercron. While sailing to that port they were overtaken by a storm and so

¹ "Ive's Voyage," pp. 1—2.

had to anchor at Kingsale on 12th March. From there he wrote to Col. Adlercron to march to that town with his troops. On the 19th the raging storm disabled two ships of his small fleet of 6 ships, the whole strength of which was altogether 226 guns. The Admiral sailed from Kingsale on the 24th March with only four ships and taking as many troops as he could accommodate. The two disabled ships were ordered to proceed to Plymouth with some more troops who were to proceed to India in some other ships that the Admiralty may prepare to replace the disabled ships. On 6th April, they anchored at Funchal road off the island of Madeira, "a place," according to our author, "famous for supplying not only Europe, but all our settlements in both the Indies, with a most excellent wine." We know that the town has not as yet lost the fame, and the "Madeira wine" is still well-known. The price of the wine, at that time, says our author, was from £ 20 to 22 for a pipe (i.e., a cask containing two hogsheads or 126 gallons).

The following opinion of our author, regarding the zeal of the Portuguese to observe their holidays, is worth noting, to enable those who are interested in these people to judge if matters have changed. Our author says :—

"Whilst we continued at Madeira, we met with many disagreeable delays in supplying our squadron with wine and other refreshments, on account of the Passion-week, and the carnival that followed it, at which season all business there is at a stand and strangers are sure to be entertained with much gaudy, superstitious mummary. The custom indeed of celebrating this festival with a great deal of religious pageantry, is observed in all Popish countries, but probably nowhere carried to so great an height as among the Portuguese, who are the most bigotted to the fopperies of their religion of any nation under the Sun."

The fleet left Madeira on 10th April at 10 A.M., saw the island of Palma, one of the Canaries, on the 23rd, "got into the trade winds" on the 25th, "were in sight of the Bonavista, one of the Cape de Verd Islands," on the 26th or 27th. In the middle of May, the "ship being too much crowded with stores and men and consequently very hot between decks, the crew became so sickly" that in 6 days they buried 7 men and 160 were on the sick list suffering from "putrid fevers." This fever was the result of eating the stock-fish, a part of their tinned provision getting putrid.

¹ "Jen's Voyage," p. 4.

In their voyage they shot off the Cape of Good Hope an "albatrose," a sea fowl "which measured $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet from wing to wing." A shark also was caught "which had the horns, skin, and many bones of a bullock in the belly. After it was dead and dried, a very large man passed through its jaws."¹

They arrived at Madagascar on 17th July. Madagascar was then governed by 4 or 5 kings who were frequently at war with each other. The beef of Madagascar was then well known. The bullocks of the Island weighed from 600 to 700 pounds. The chiefs of the King's court "prided themselves in being called by English names. And the King's own family likewise, in imitation of the court of England, is not without a Prince of Wales, a Duke of Cumberland, a Prince Augustus, and Princesses, distinguished by English names. All the great men abovementioned, came on board naked, except a covering over their hips, and another over their shoulders."

The fleet touched the shore of India at the Fort of St. David near Madras on the 10th of September 1754.

Dr. Ives left Fort St. David on 11th October and his ship, *Salisbury*,² anchored in what he called "Bombay Road" on the 13th of November 1754. He gives the following description of Bombay³:—

"Bombay is a small island, but for its size, perhaps the most flourishing of any this day in the universe. Though the soil is so barren as not to produce any one thing worth mentioning, yet the convenience of its situation will always more than make up for that defect. It may justly be styled 'the grand storehouse of all the Arabian and Persian commerce.' When this island was first surrendered to us by the Portuguese, we hardly thought it worth notice; but, in a very few years afterwards, we experimentally found the value of it, and it is now become our chief settlement of the Malabar Coast."

Speaking of the natives of this island, he says that, though shorter, they are stronger than the people of the Coromandel Coast. He got this idea of their strength from the number of men that carried

¹ "Ives's Voyage," p. 5.

² It was in this ship that the late Mr. Nowrojee Rustomji Seth, the first Parsee to visit England, had sailed from here in 1723. (Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 24.)

³ Ives's Voyage, p. 31. His description of Bombay, is referred to in the "Bombay Quarterly Review," Vol. V, January and April 1857, pp. 161-162. in the article entitled "An Age of Progress in Bombay, 1740-1762."

the palanquin, which was one of the principal kinds of conveyances here up to about 50 or 60 years ago. He says four coolies carried a palanquin here, while six were required at Madras. "The people of this island were," he says, "made up of every nation in Asia."

I will quote here at full length what he says of my own co-religionists, the Parsees. He says :—

"We met with several Persees, who, like their forefathers, the ancient Persians, are followers of Zoroaster, who is said to have modelled and reduced into order the religion of the ancient Magi, the fundamental maxim of which was the worshipping only one God under the symbol of light. They adore the sun, and particularly the rising sun, with the profoundest reverence and veneration; and by a natural consequence of the worship they pay the sun, they likewise pay a particular veneration to fire.

"I met with a very remarkable instance of this while I was at Bombay; one day passing through the street, I heard a very uncommon noise, and seeing at the same time a large fire in one of the houses, curiosity led me a little closer to it: in the middle of the house was set a large brass pan with a fire in it: before this fire, or rather on each side of it, two men were kneeling at their devotions, which they hurried over with great rapidity. I looked on for a considerable time with great attention, and afterwards learned from a servant of the admirals, who was of this *cast*, that one of them was a priest, then on a visit to another priest in a fit of sickness. This servant likewise told me, that the Persees have such a veneration for fire, that they never put it out, or so much as breathe upon it; and I took particular notice, that while these priests were at prayers over the pan of coals, they had a kind of little white hib over their mouth, as I imagined, to prevent their breathing on their favourite element. The prayers appeared to me, to be only a repetition of the same set of words, from the similarity of their sounds. The visiting priest used many gestures with his hands over the fire, and afterwards stroked down the face of the sick priest, which I looked upon as the final benediction, for presently afterward the ceremony ended. This instance strongly corroborates Prideaux's observation¹ concerning their usage at public worship. 'The priests themselves never approach this fire in their temples but with a cloth over their mouths, that they might not breathe thereon: and this they did not only when

¹ The reference is to Dr. Humphrey Prideaux's "The Old and New Testaments connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring nations." Part I, Bk. IV (17th Edition of 1815), Vol. I, p. 269.

they tended the fire to lay on more wood, or do any other service about it, but also when they approached to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it. So that they mumbled over their prayers, rather than spoke them, in the same manner as the Romish priests do their masses, without letting the people present articulately hear one word of what they said.'"¹

I will make a few observations on some of the statements of Dr. Ives in the above passage.

The prayer referred to above as being recited by the visiting priest over the sick priest seems to be the Ardibehesht Yasht (Yasht 3). There are two points in our author's statements which point to that identification.

1. The first is that the visiting priest used many gestures with his hands over the fire and afterwards stroked down the face of the sick priest.
2. The second is that the prayer seemed to him "to be only a repetition of the same set of words from the similarity of their sounds."

Ardibehesht is the third of the seven Ameshâsponds or archangels of the Parsees. His Avesta name is Asha Vahishta, *i.e.*, the best purity. In the word 'Asha' or purity, both physical and mental purities are included. So, this archangel is believed to preside over the best purity. Health both physical and mental or spiritual, gives purity. So, Asha Vahishta presides over health also. He is therefore invoked in case of illness. The Hûspâram *nask*, as described in the Dinkard, says :

"Where it is the healing of the sick, the spiritual debt is unto the archangel Asha Vahishta, and that which is worldly unto the physician's anteroom (drugs)."² What is meant is this: When a man recovers from illness, we are indebted to two sources for his recovery—one, the Divine power, as represented by the Ameshâspond, Asha Vahishta, and the other, the human power as represented by the medical man who treats the sick man. As Prof. Darmesteter points out, this reminds us of the words of the eminent French physician Ambroise Paré, who is known in France as the Father of Surgery. He used to say: "Je pansé et Dieu guérit," *i.e.*, "I dress (the wounds) and God cures." He meant to say that the medical men only dress the wounds, to cure a patient, but

¹ Ives's *Voyages*, pp. 31-32.

² S. B. E. XXXVII, p. 115, Dinkard, Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14. *Vide* Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter, Vol. II, p. 115.


it is God who really cures him. In the Ardibehesht Yasht itself, of all the remedies for a sick man's illness, the best is considered to be that of the Holy Word, *i.e.*, that which strengthens and influences his mind. This being the case, the recital of the Ardibehesht Yasht, before sick persons, was often resorted to even up to the last century, and it is not unknown even now.

"The stroking down the face" of the sick patient while reciting the Ardibehesht Yasht consists now-a-days in making a few passes over the body with a handkerchief, or with the hand, and then clapping the fingers of the hand. This process is now known as "Ardibehesht Yasht ni pichi."

Fire, as the refulgent symbol of the Glory of God and the visible form of heat that pervades and purifies the whole earth is a symbol of purity. So, Asha Vahishta or Ardibehesht presides over fire also. Hence it is that, as Dr. Ives describes, the fire was placed before the sick patient while the Yasht was recited. But one can recite that Yasht even without the fire.

Now Dr. Ives says that the prayer seemed to him "to be the repetition of the same set of words from the similarity of their sounds." That statement also proves the fact that the prayer recited by the priest and heard by him was the Ardibehesht Yasht, because of all the Avesta writings, the Ardibehesht Yasht is one where there is a good deal of repetition with a slight change of words.

The "little white bib" which, according to Dr. Ives, was put on by the priest while reciting the prayer before fire was the *padân* or *paitidâna*, put on, even now, by Parsee priests.

Dr. Ives thinks that what he saw, *viz.*, the priests reciting their prayers with a piece of cloth over their mouths, corroborated Prideaux's observation that the Parsee priests mumbled over their prayers like Romish priests. That is not always the case. The present prayer book of the Parsees contains writings both in the ancient Avesta language and the later Pazend. So, whenever they have to recite the Pazend portion in the midst of the Avesta scriptures, they do so with a suppressed tone, which is technically known among them as reciting in *bâj* and which Firdousi refers to, as reciting in *samsame* ;

Then Dr. Ives thus refers to the Parsee custom of the disposal of their dead and of their places of disposal now known as the Towers-of-Silence.

"As the Gentoos burn their dead, one would think that the Parsees, who are so fond of worshipping their deity under the representation of fire, should be desirous of having their dead bodies committed to that element, wherein they suppose their creator principally to reside. But contrary to this, and to the custom of all other nations in the world, they neither burn nor bury their dead, but cast them out in the open air, to be exposed to the several elements, where they are soon devoured by eagles, vultures, and other birds of prey. The principle they go upon is, that a living man being compounded of all the elements, it is but reasonable, after he is dead, that every particular element should receive its own again. On the top of Malabar-hill, in this island of Bombay, are two round buildings, on purpose for receiving the dead bodies of the Parsees, which are placed and remain there till the bones are clean picked by the birds. A guard constantly stands within a small distance of the place, who is very much displeased if you offer to approach the buildings; and for this reason, lest by your going too near, you disturb the vultures in their preying upon the dead bodies. One afternoon, however, I resolved to satisfy my curiosity so far as to peep into one of these edifices. I perceived several dead bodies, but there was little flesh left upon the bones; and that little was so parched up by the excessive heat of the sun, that it did not emit those stinking effluvia which there was reason to expect. It was owing probably to the same cause, that the bones were rendered quite black." ¹

The pictures of the towers that he gives seems to be imaginary, because the two towers that he refers to, still exist, and one can see at once, that his sketches differ. First of all, he has shown them to be of the same size, which, as a matter of fact, they are not. Again the outward appearances also differ.

We note that our author does not speak of the places serving as receptacles of the bodies, as towers, but only as "round buildings."

The word Towers has latterly come into use. There was some discussion, about a year ago², as to who first brought the words "Tower-of-Silence" into use. Sir George Birdwood said that it was the late Mr. Robert Xavier Murphy who first used the term. I supported his statement, and said that it was in 1832, that the term was first used in a card printed in the *Bombay Gazette* by the late Mr. Framji Cowasji when he built the "Tower-of-Silence" which is

¹ Ives' Voyage, pp. 32 and 33.

² Vide Sir George Birdwood's letter to the *London Times* of 8th August 1905. Vide that letter quoted in the *Times of India* of 29th August 1905. Vide my letter to the *Times of India* of 3rd October 1905.

known by his name. The late Mr. Murphy, who was latterly the Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, had, at the time of the publication of that card in the *Bombay Gazette* of 28th March 1832, some connection with the paper. So, it appears that, when Mr. Framjee Cowasji asked the *Bombay Gazette* to print his card or general invitation to Europeans and other non-Zorastrians to come and see the round building he had built for the disposal of the dead of his community, Mr. Murphy, who must have been connected with the *Gazette* in some capacity before he became its editor, coined this new phrase "Tower-of-Silence" for the first time.

Sir George Birdwood in his letter to the *London Times* above referred to, calls the phrase "Tower-of-Silence" "a fine figure of speech." I will take this opportunity to say, what must have suggested this fine figure of speech to Mr. Murphy. He was an Oriental Scholar and was at one time Oriental Translator to Government. As such, he was versed in Oriental literature and among that, in Persian and Hindustani literature. Now in Persian the word for "Silence" or for "the Silent" is *khámush* خاموش. This word *khámush* is also figuratively used for the "dead." Dr. Steingass gives both these meanings for this word *khámush*.¹ Then, as to the word 'Tower', it is natural that the structure being round, the word Tower at once struck Mr. Murphy as an appropriate word.

So it seems that the Persian word *khámush*, meaning 'Silence' or 'Silent' as well as 'dead', suggested to Mr. Murphy the phrase "Tower-of-Silence."

A few Hindustani quotations, wherein the word *khámush* is used for the dead, have been kindly supplied to me by my friend Munshi Khan Saheb Farrudin. I am indebted to him for this suggestion as to the possible way which may have suggested to Mr. Murphy this figure of speech.

(ناسخ)

عیش تنہائی ہوا مردوں کی کثرت سے محال
جاو اب یارب کہاں شہر خموشان چہوڑ کر

Translation-- (The complaint of a departed soul)—

"The solitary enjoyment has become impossible owing to the infinite number of the dead. Oh God! where am I to go leaving the City of Silence, i.e., the cemetery."

¹ Vide his Persian-English Dictionary, p. 443, the word *Khámush* خاموش

ایضاً

گذر ناکاه جو میرا ہوا شہر خموشان میں
عجب نقشہ نظر وہاں شاہانِ عالم کا
کہیں آئینہ زانوی سکندر کا شکستہ تھا
کسی جانب پڑا تھا کاسٹہ سر خاک میں جم کا

Translation—(A living man draws a picture of the instability of the worldly greatness.)

“I happened to go once in the City of Silence (*i.e.*, to the cemetery), where a wonderful sight of the state of the kings of the world, came to my vision. On one side was lying the knee of Alexander and on the other the skull of Jam (shed).”

استعمالِ شہرِ خموشان

(از آباد لکھنوی)

دیکھ کر آئینئہ رخ اوس کا سکتہ ہو گیا
جیتے جی ہم داخلِ شہرِ خموشان ہو گئے

“We were so much affected that we remained motionless (literally smitten with apoplexy) on seeing her (beloved's) mirror-like face. We felt like entering alive the City of Silence.”

(از ناسخ لکھنوی)

جس جگہ تھے قصر و منظر بن گئیں گورین تمام
شہر جو آباد تھے شہرِ خموشان ہو گئے

“The spot which had lofty palaces and beautiful sights is now full of graves.”

The cities which were once populous have now become cities of silence, *i.e.*, grave-yards.”

I have come across an old document in the records of the Parsee Panchayet, which shows that the Portugese used the word ‘well’ for the Tower. In a document dated 1st May 1796 we find the following words : “Poço dos Parcois aon de passraũ seus defuntos”,

i.e., the Parsees' well, through which their dead bodies pass. The document is a deed of sale of a hill, named Ragi, by one Krishnoba to Mr. Dady Nusserwanjee. Some Portuguese documents of the years 1710 to 1739 speak of the Towers as cemeteries or sepulchres. (*Vide* the Zartoshti of month Farvardin 1276 Yazdezardi, Vol. IV., No. 1.)

There is one statement in the above description of Dr. Ives which appears to me to be useful in determining the date of the construction of one of the old Parsi Towers-of-Silence in Bombay. He speaks of having seen "two round buildings" or towers. Unfortunately, these two towers, the two oldest of the five public towers standing in the Parsee ground, known as Doongarwadi among the Parsees, have no tablets to give the dates of their construction. But, fortunately, it is three old European travellers that have come to our help, in determining, at least approximately, the dates of these two old towers.

The first or the oldest of the two towers referred to by Dr. Ives is that known as Modi's tower. As said above, there is no tablet over it. Again there are no family records to determine the date of its foundation. But, as pointed out by Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel¹, Dr. John Fryer² refers to this oldest tower in his book of travels entitled "A New Account of East-India and Persia, in Eight Letters, being nine years travels, begun 1672 and finished 1681." Therein he says: "On the other side of the great Inlet, to the Sea, is a great point abutting against Old Woman's Island³ and is called Malabar-hill, a rocky woody mountain, yet sends forth long grass. A-top of all is a Parsy Tomb lately reared."⁴

Fryer's book was published in 1698. He left England for India on 9th December 1672.⁵ He arrived in Bombay on 9th December 1673.⁶ His letter, wherein he refers to the tower (Modi's Tower), is dated Surat, 15th January 1675 (old system 1674).⁷ So, it is clear, that the first Parsi Tower-of-Silence was built some time before the year 1675 when he wrote the letter containing the above passage. He says it was "lately reared." The words "lately reared" are rather indefinite. It may be two or three years before the year when he wrote the above.

¹ *Parsi Prakash*, I, p. 17.

² Dr. Fryer left England on 9th December 1672. He landed in Bombay on 9th December 1673. His letter from Surat wherein he refers to the first tower is dated 15th January 1675.

³ Colaba was then known by this name.

⁴ Dr. Fryer's Travels, p. 67.

⁵ *Vide* his New Account of East India and Persia in eight letters from 1672-1681, p. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 50.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 89.

Now, there is another traveller whose book helps us in determining the value or the meaning of Dr. Fryer's words "lately reared." This traveller was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Streynsham Master who was in India from 1656 to 1682. In an interval during the period he had gone once to England.¹

As he has not been referred to in the Gazetteer and in the *Parsi Prakash*, his notes having come to light lately, I will here make use of his reference and try to determine the date of the first tower.

It is in a letter dated "Bombay, January 18, 1671, (i.e., New System, 1672) that he refers to the tower. The letter is headed "a letter from Suratt in India giving an account of y^e: Manners of y^e: English factories, &c., their way of Civill Converse and Pious Comportment and Behaviour in these Parties.' It is an unusually long document to be called a letter. Therein, while giving a short description of Bombay, and speaking of its different "nations or sects of people" he thus speaks of the Parsees :

¹ The following particulars about this traveller are collected from Col. Henry Yule's Account of his life. *Vide* the Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, Vol. II, p. CCXXIII.

Sir Streynsham Master was born on 28th October 1640. He left London on 4th April 1656 to go to India with his uncle and god-father George Oxenden. They arrived at Surat in November 1656. Mr. Oxenden returned to Europe but Master remained at Surat in charge of George Oxenden's brother Christopher Oxenden who was "then second in council of the Company's factory at Surat." Mr. Master then went out as Cape-Merchant and supercargo on a vessel bound for Persian Gulf. He returned to Surat in December 1659. He was taken into the Company's service in January 1659-60. Till 1666, he was employed at Surat and Ahmedabad. During the interval i.e., in 1662, his uncle had returned to Surat as Sir George Oxenden and as President of Surat. In 1668 he was one of the Council at Surat.

In the month of September of that year "he was associated with Mr. Goodyer (Governor-designate,) Captain Young, and Mr. Cotes, to go to Bombay and receive over charge of the Island from the King's officers." "When Surat was attacked by the Mahrattas in 1664 he took part in the defence of the factory and Company's property. When the Mahrattas pillaged Surat for the second time under Sivaji in October 1670, the Council was temporarily located at Swally (known among the people there as Soomari *सुमारी*). So, Mr Master was asked to come down from that place to Surat to hold the factory against the invaders. This he did "with much gallantry and tact." The Court of Directors in London voted him on 20th July 1671-2 a gold medal in recognition of his services. It was presented to him in 1672 when he went home. Gerald Aungier was the Governor at the time of Sivaji's above invasion. He was at Swally. Master returned to England in June 1672 and married in 1674. In September 1675 he was nominated the Governor of Fort St. George. He arrived at Fort St. George on 7th July 1676. He then went to Bengal on inspection duty and took charge of his appointment as Governor of Madras in 1677, when Sir William Langhorne went home. He fell in the disfavour of the Court of Directors; he was recalled by a letter, dated 5th January 1680-81. He gave over charge of his office to Mr. W. Gyfford on 3rd July 1681 and then went to England.

“ The Parsees are the antient inhabitants of Persia, from whence those that now inhabit hereabouts fled, at such time as the Mahometan Religion was by Violence planted in that Country, which was about 900 years since. Then severall of those Parsees resolving to so suffer and undergoe any hardship rather than submit to Mahomett and his followers im barged themselves and their families in a few slight built vessels of that Country and Committed themselves to the Mercy of the Wind and the Seas, not knowing whether they would [fare] (a most desperate undertaking), and at length it pleased God they were cast upon the Coast of India between Surratt and Daman about 12 or 13 miles from Surratt, near the same place where the first English Ship that arrived in India was allsoe cast away, where escapeing to the Shoare with life, the Indians not used to such guests, yet being as obliging People to strangers as any nation under heaven (as the English found them when the Sun, the first Ship we had in these parts was cast away at or near the same place) tooke yet this advantage upon them (if it may be soe termed) that they should live and inhabit with them if they would swear to them that they would not kill Cows or any of that Sort of Cattell, and observe their Ceremonies of Marryage, that is to Marry their children young at 6 or 7 years old or thereabouts, to which the Poore Parsees soone agreed, and there seateJ themselves, the Towne being called Nausarree, or by the English Nunsaree, where since they have spread themselves about these parts of the Country, about 30 or 40 miles about Surratt, but there are very few farther in the Country, yet some, for they say a Parsee was raised to great honour in the Court by Jangier this Mogull's grandfather. At the said place of Nausaree thear chief priests reside, where tis said they have their Holy fire which they brought [with] them from their owne Country, and is never to goe out. They keepe it soe constantly supplied ; they had a Church in Surratt ; but the Tumultuous Rabble of the Zelott Moors destroyed and tooke it from them when they were furious on the Hindooes. They have severall buryall Places hereabouts, which are built of Stone in the wide fields, wherein they lay the dead Bodys exposed to the open air soe that the Ravenous fowles may and doe feed upon them.

“ These People are of a different Shape and Complexion from all other People that ever I sawe in the World ; they are of all Professions, except Seamen, for they have hitherto held it unlawfull for them to goe to Sea, because they must then Pollute the Element of Water which they esteem holy, as they doe fire. But of late some few of them had adventured to transgress that ceremony. They have a great Reverence for fire, and many of them will not put it out, but let

it extinguish for want of matter ; they worship and acknowledge one God Almighty and noe Images or Representations. But only the Sun they doe adore, and they give this reason for it ; that God Almighty told them by their first Prophet that they should worship only one thing beside Himselfe and that thing should be that which was most like unto Him. Now they say there is noe one thing in the world soe much like unto God as the Sun, for it hath its light and heat in itselfe, which it disperseth and infuseth into all parts and Creatures in the World, soe that it gives them life and light ; therefore they say they worship it.

“ President Aungier, one of the most ingenious men of our Nation that ever was in these parts, hath been somewhat Curious in his Enquiry into the Religion of these People, and according to the account they have of the history of the World, he is of opinion they had it from the Hebrews, it differing not much from Moses. They say according to these prophesys the World will not last many hundreds of years longer, but that their Kingdom and Country will be restored to them, and all Nations shall be of their Religion ere the World be ended.”

Then, while speaking of the island of Bombay Master says of the Parsees of this city :—

“ Here is allsoe some Parsees, but they are lately come since the English had the Island, and are most of them weavers, and have not yet any place to doe their devotion in or to bury their dead.”¹

This last statement of Sir Streynsham Master, made on 18th January 1672, shows, that on that day, the Parsees had no Tower-of-Silence. So, the statement of Dr. Fryer on the one hand, and that of Sir S. Master on the other, gives two dates between which the first Parsee Tower-of-Silence was built in Bombay. They decide that it was built at some time during the three years between the 18th of January 1672, the date given by Master, and 15th of January 1675, the date given by Fryer. This period of three years can still be reduced to a narrower period, because though Fryer wrote his letter from Surat on 15th January 1675, he narrates therein what he saw at Bombay during the preceding year. At the end of the monsoons of 1674 he had left Bombay for Surat.² His observations about Bombay itself must have been for the months of January or February 1674, because we learn from his book that before the end of the hot season he had left Bombay for Bassein. Before this, he had been visiting some of the coast towns near Bombay. So, his account of Bombay refers to the early

¹ The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, Vol. II, printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1886, p. CCCXVI.

² Fryer's Travels, p. 82.

part of the year 1674. So, we can safely say, that the tower referred to by Fryer as "lately raised," was built some time after 18th January 1672 and before January or February 1674. It was built in the latter end of 1672 or at some time in 1673.

Now, just as the writings of the abovementioned two travellers have helped us in determining approximately the date of the construction of the first tower, the book of Dr. Ives helps us in determining the date of the second old tower—which is now known as the Manockji Seth's Tower.

The Parsee population at the time of our author's visit must be much below 10,000. Sir James Campbell's Gazetteer has given "the chief available details of the strength of the Parsees at different times since the beginning of the (19th) century." But the Journal of our own Society seems to have escaped his notice. In the very first volume of the Journal of our Society, then known as the Literary Society, we have a note latterly attached to the "Preliminary Discourse" delivered by Sir James Mackintosh, the founder of the Society. In that note we find the following figures of Parsee population in 1811 :—

Men from 20 to 80 years of age	...	...	...	3,644
Women	"	"	"	3,333
Boys from 20 down to infant children	...	...	...	1,799
Girls	"	"	"	1,266
Total				10,042

This was in 1811. So in the middle of the 18th century it may be about 5,000. Whatever it may be, it was thought some time before 1748, that there was a demand for a second and a larger tower. The fact is inferred from the Will of the first Mr. Manockji Nowroji Seth, who died in 1748, and from whose father's name our Nowroji Hill derives its name. This Manockji Seth was the grandson of Rustom Manock, from whose name Rustompora in Surat derives its name, and who was the broker of the English Factory at Surat in the middle of the 17th century, and had gone in 1660 to the Court of the Mogul Emperor at Delhi to bring about a settlement of some points of dispute that had arisen between the abob of Surat and the English Factory at Surat. His father Nowroji Seth was the first Parsee to go to England in 1724. He went there to lay his grievances personally before the Court of Directors in the matter of some money dispute that had arisen between him and the English Factors at Surat.

Now, it appears from the last Will¹ of the above Manockji Seth that, some time before 1748, the date of the death of the Testator, the Parsee community had raised a fund to build a second and a larger tower. Mr. Manockji Seth's subscription was Rs. 2,000, but it was not collected, perhaps, because the money subscribed by the community was not found sufficient. So, he mentions the subscription in his Will and directs that instead of Rs. 2,000, a sum of Rs. 2,500 may be given to the fund. The whole amount of the subscriptions not being found sufficient, the heirs of the late Mr. Manockji offered to make up all the deficiency, and the tower was built and named after the principal donor, as Manockji Seth's Tower.

Now the question is : When was that tower built ? This tower also bears no date. Mr. Manockji had built a tower in his lifetime, a year before his death (*i.e.*, in 1747), at Naosari. That tower bears a date in Persian.² But the tower built in Bombay several years later does not bear any date.

Mr. Ruttonji Framji Vachha in his *Mumbai-no-Bâhâr*, *i.e.*, "the Spring or the Rise of Bombay" published in 1874, says that the tower of Manockji Seth was built in 1128, Yazdazardi, *i.e.*, in 1759 A.D. Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel gives the date as 1756.⁴ He says that he was given that date by the late Mr. Heerjeebhoy Hormusji Sethna, a member of Seth Khândân family. There seems to be no documentary evidence about it. I wrote to three members of the Seth Khândân family, to inquire, if they had any documents or written notes in the family, to show that the tower was built in 1756. They have replied that they have none.

Now the work of our author, Dr. Ives, shows us, that the second tower, namely, the Manockji Seth's Tower was built some years before 1756, the date given by Khan Bahadur Patel. Dr. Ives says that in 1754 he saw two towers. So, it appears, that the Manockji Seth's Tower was built not in 1756 but some time before 1754. Manockji Seth having died in 1748 and provided for that tower in 1748, it must have been built at some time between 1748 and 1754. This period of interval can still be reduced, because the Bombay Parsees wrote a letter in February 1750 to the Naosari Anjuman asking them to send two priests to perform the ceremony of laying the foundation. The letter was signed, among others, by the two wives of Manockjee Seth.⁵ So.

¹ This Will, and what we may now call its codicils, have been published in the રૂઝ આનકાન કુટુંબની વંશાવલી તથા રૂઝ યોજવાલ, *i.e.*, the Genealogy and a short Account of the Seth family, published in 1900 by Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth (pp. 77-84). It is also partly published in the Parsee Prakash.

² ગુ'બઈની બાહાર, p. 445.

⁴ Parsee Prakash, I, p. 41.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

the tower must have been built sometime between 1750 and 1754, probably not long after the above letter, *i.e.*, in or about 1751.

We will now proceed to consider a few other points about Bombay referred to by our author.

It appears that a term "toddy-headed" was used at that time for the weak-headed from the fact that toddy intoxicated men. We do not find the term used now.

The rind of the cocoanut fruit was at that time used for a kind of cloth for the poorer class of people. I think that that has altogether gone out of use now.

The Abkari tax for tapping each cocoanut tree was then 20 shillings.

The meaning of the word Bombay is often discussed. Our author understands its name to convey "an idea of a safe retreat in foul weather" (Bon or good bay). Bombay is said to have had "a very good dock" at the time for small ships. It was "the most convenient place among all our settlements in the East Indies for careening and heaving down large ships" (p. 33).

Among the little forts and batteries of this little island, Dr. Ives names, "Dungaree; Massegon, Mahee, Mendham's Point and Sion-hill." Of these Dungaree and Sion-hill are familiar names to us even now. Massegon is our modern Mazagon. Dr. Jerson daCunha¹ suggests four meanings of the name.

- 1 मच्छ गांव (machchgâv), *i.e.*, fishing village.
- 2 महिष गांव (mahishgâv), *i.e.*, a buffalo village.
- 3 माजगांव (mâzagâv), *i.e.*, central village.

Of these three, he thinks the first to be "most acceptable." The form Massegon given by our author seems to support this meaning.

Mahee seems to be Mahim where we have still an old fort. Mendham's Point is a name unknown to us now. Colaba, which was formerly considered to be an island separate from Bombay, was then known as the Old Woman's Island. Before it was connected with Bombay itself in 1838, the southern extremity of Bombay, where the Soldiers' Home stands at present, was known as Mendham's Point. It is said that the first English cemetery was there and the first person buried there was one Mendham. Hence the Point was named after him.²

¹ The Origin of Bombay, p. 59. The Extra Number of the Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, 1900.

² Dr. Jerson da Cunha's Origin of Bombay, p. 339.

All these forts were defended by guns at the time of our author's visit. The principal fort had more than 100 guns.

The renovation of the Cathedral has been much discussed lately. Of this cathedral our author says : "The Church also is not less substantial than the fort ; it is a very handsome, large edifice, and in comparison of those which are to be met with in the other settlements, it looks like one of our cathedrals." It was built by voluntary subscriptions. Rev. Mr. Cobbe, father of Mr. Richard Cobbe, Admiral Watson's chaplain, was the chief promoter of the work of building the church. Rev. Cobbe was at one time a chaplain of the Bombay factory.

Tank-house was the family residence of the Admiral. Our author does not say where it was, but I think it is the house at Gowalia Tank, now known as Tanka-ville. It was so called from the large tank near it. The Admiral was allowed five pagodas ¹ a day for "a part of the expenses of his table." The Company allowed him and his principal attendants the use of palanquins. The horses being of little value and being also very scarce, they generally used oxen. These oxen travelled fast at the rate of 7 or 8 miles an hour. The Admiral had a chaise and a pair of oxen allowed him by the Company. It was in this chaise that the Admiral went "for an afternoon's airing" to Malabar Hill, Old Woman's Island (Colaba) and to Marmulla. By Marmulla, our author perhaps means Breach Candy.

The Hindu burning ground was at that time "near the water's edge under Malabar hill."

The following account of our author's interview with a *Jogee* is interesting :—

"During my stay at this place, I hired by the month, a chaise drawn by a pair of bullocks. In the several excursions I made in this carriage, I had frequently passed by one of those religious persons, or anchorets, who in India are called *Jookees* ; and who, in consequence of a vow made by their parents, and during their mother's pregnancy with them, are devoted to the service of heaven. One evening, I and a companion had an inclination to pay a short visit to this *Jogee*, who always sat in one posture on the ground in a shady cocoanut plantation, with his body covered over with ashes, and his long black hair clotted, and in the greatest disorder. As we approached him, we made our salutation, which he respectfully returned ; and then, with the assistance of our Indian driver, who could speak English, we began a conversation with him, that principally turned on the wonderful efficacy of his prayers, and which he pretended had

¹ According to Webster, its value varied at different places. It was about 7s. 4d.

given health to the sick, strength to the lame, sight to the blind, and fecundity to women who for their whole lives had been deemed barren. When we were about to take our leave of him, I offered him a present of two rupees, which he bade me to throw on the ground, and then directed his servant, who was standing by, to take them up, which he did with a pair of iron-pincers, throwing the rupees at the same time into a pot of vinegar. After they had lain there a little while, the same servant took them out, wiped them carefully, and at last delivered them to his master, who soon afterwards, by way of return, presented us with a few cakes of his insipid pastry. I then requested of him, that in his next prayers he would petition for an increase of my happiness, to which with great complacency in his countenance, he replied : ' I hardly know what to ask for you ; I ' have seen you often and you have always appeared to me to enjoy ' perfect health ; you ride in your chaise at your ease ; are often accompanied with a very pretty lady ; you are ever well clothed, and ' are likewise fat ; so that you seem to me to be in possession of every ' thing that can be any way necessary to happiness. I believe therefore, when I pray for you, it must be in this strain, that God would ' give you grace to deserve, and to be thankful for those many ' blessings which he has already bestowed upon you.' I told him that I was thoroughly satisfied with the mode of his intended supplication for me ; and with a mutual exchange of smiles and compliments we parted."¹

It is only last month, that our Governor Lord Lamington laid the foundation of a building, which was understood to be the first building in a scheme of thoroughly re-building the whole of the Sir Jamsetjee Hospital. The foundation of this hospital was laid in 1843 and it was opened in 1845. But it seems that a Government Hospital existed in Bombay as early as 1773. It was intended only "for the sick and hurt of the squadron of His Majesty." Our author says of this hospital :—

" Our hospital at Bombay was without the town-wall ; and in order to make my attendance on it the more convenient, Mr. Délaguarde (a factor in the Company's service) was so obliging as to give me the use of a very commodious house, which lay near the hospital, and belonged to him as superintendent of the powder-works."

From the reference to the powder-works, and from the statement that the hospital was out of the Fort, we are led to think that it was somewhere at Mazagon, where a place is still known as Darukhaneh. It appears that the hospital was attended to by any medical

¹ From Ives's *Voyages*, p. 35.

² *Ibid*, p. 28.

officer that happened to be in Bombay. During his first visit, our author was in Bombay only for about one month from 13th November to 15th December 1754.¹

While on the subject of the hospital I would draw the attention of medical men to the drugs used at the time. Our author² gives a list of the drugs as given to him by a Portuguese Physician of Bombay named Diego.

The next interesting thing in our author's book are the tables of the daily rainfall of Bombay for the monsoon of the year 1756. He gives the daily rainfall as measured by his friend Dr. Thomas who supplied it to him afterwards. The total rainfall of that year from May to October was 110 inches and 3 tenths. He also describes the rain-gauge then used.

Among the Bombay curiosities of the time our author mentions the following³ :—

1. A terapin (a large beetle) kept at the Governor's⁴ house ; its age was said to be "upward of 200 years."
2. Large frogs, some measuring about 22 inches from the extremities of the fore and hind feet when extended and weighing about 4 or 5 lbs.
3. Beautiful shells on the sea shore much estimated by the ladies of that time and known as Ventletraps or Wendletraps. One of such shells was sold for several pounds.

He names the following species of Bombay snakes known at the time :—

1. The Covra (Cobra) Capella, from 4 to 8 or 9 feet long.
2. The Covra Manilla, of the size of a man's little finger and about a foot long.
3. The Palmira, about 4 feet long, "not much larger than a swan's quill."
4. The Green Snake.
5. The Sand Snake.
6. The Covra dé Aurellia, which is like an earth-worm about 6 inches long. It "kills by getting into the ear and causing madness." This seems to be what is now known here as the ~~सिन्धु~~ (a centepede).
7. The Manilla Bombo.

¹ Ibid, p. 36.

² Ibid, p. 44.

³ Ibid, p. 43.

⁴ Richard Bouchier was Governor of Bombay from 17th November 1750 to 26th February 1760.

During his short stay of one month, our author saw two fleets of country vessels in the harbour. "One of them belonged to the Nanea or Prince of the Maharattas, the other to Monajee Angria, the brother of Angria the pirate." These vessels carried two guns in their bow. The music of these fleets "was a plain brass tube, shaped like a trumpet at both ends and about 10 feet in length, and a kind of drum called a tomtom. Each fleet consisted of about 30 sails."¹

The following table gives the exchange as then prevalent :—

"A 36-shilling piece exchanges for 16½ rupees.

A guinea	„	„	9	„
An English crown	„		2 rupees and 6 double pice.	
A Spanish dollar	„	2	„	3 „ „ „

Eighty pice made a rupee.

The description of the Elephanta Caves given by our author on the authority of his friend Dr. Thomas will interest archæologists to enable them to know what parts have been latterly further destroyed. He gives a plan of the caves.

This finishes our author's account of Bombay during his first visit (13th November to 15th December 1754). He then went with his Admiral to Madras and the adjoining towns and returned to Bombay again on 11th November 1755.

On his second visit to Bombay, we find that the fleet, to which our author was attached, was engaged in a naval fight² with the Angria. The family of Angria were more or less pirates on our Western shores. The Angria at this time (1755) was Tulaji.³

¹ Ives' Voyage p. 43.

² For an account of the Angrias and of this naval battle, *vide* the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II, pp. 96-96. *Vide* also History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745, (by Orme), pp. 407-17.

³ The following tree shows his descent :—
Tukajee.

Kanhoji (who had distinguished himself in Shivaji's fleet, and who "in the unsettled days of Shivaji's successors, Sambhaji and Shahu," became independent in 1713. Died in 1729).

Sakhoji
(died early).

Sambhaji
(Died about 1748). He was
succeeded by his half-
brother Tulaji.

Manaji.

Yesaji.

Tulaji
(half-brother
of Sambhaji)

Lieut.-Col. Robert Clive, afterwards Lord Clive, was at that time in Bombay. He had already, by this time, made his name as a good soldier. He "had lately landed on the island with three companies of the King's Artillery from England. He was sent out with a design of acting in conjunction with the Maharattas against the French in the Carnatic and Deccan ; but finding that a truce had been agreed upon with that nation, and perhaps partly excited by Mr. James's late success, it was judged proper by Admiral Watson, Mr. Bouchier Governor of Bombay, Colonel Clive, &c., that the sea and land forces united with the Maharattas should attempt the destroying Angria's piratical state, which was becoming exceedingly formidable, troublesome, and dangerous, not only to the Maharattas, who were his neighbours, but also to our East India Company, and the whole Malabar Coast."¹

Gheria was the stronghold of Angria at that time, and so, it was this fort that was intended to be taken after a naval fight. It was situated in the Province of Beejapur and was "called Gheria by Mussulmans, but Viziadroog by Hindoos."²

In our author's description of the preliminary arrangements before the naval battle, we find an interesting account about the question of the division of booty, or prize-money as they called it, acquired in war, a question, which, it seems, they settled beforehand to avoid disputes later on.

Our author says—

"All things being at last in readiness for putting to sea, a council was held, at Mr. Watson's particular desire, between the sea and land officers, both of His Majesty's forces, and those of the East India Company, with a view of obviating any difficulties that might arise in regard to the proper distribution of prize-money, should the intended expedition be crowned with success. It was settled at this council, that Admiral Watson, as Commander-in-Chief of the King's Squadron, should have two-thirds of one-eighth of the whole ; and Rear-admiral Pocock, one-third of one-eighth. Lieutenant-Colonel Clive and Major Chambers were to share equally with the captains of the King's ships. The captains of the Company's ships, and armed vessels, and captains of the army, were to have an equal share with the lieutenants of the men-of-war. The subaltern officers of the army, and Lieutenants of the company's armed ships and vessels, were to have the same distribution as the warrant-officers of the navy, &c.

¹ Ives' Travels, p. 79.

² The Bombay Quarterly Review, Vol. III, p. 56.

" These articles, however, had scarcely been agreed upon in council, before Colonel Clive, who Commanded-in-Chief on shore, paid a visit to Mr. Watson, and acquainted him, that the Army was not satisfied with the terms on which he, as their Commander-in-Chief, was to share ; and that to make those gentlemen easy, who were to serve under him, he found himself under the disagreeable necessity of remonstrating and requiring that, as Commander of the Army he might be entitled to a more honorable division. The argument the Gentlemen of the Army went upon, was, that Mr. Clive, by virtue of the Commission he bore in common of Lieutenant-Colonel, could claim but an equal share with a Captain in the Navy ; yet on this occasion, being Commander-in-Chief of the Army, he ought certainly to be particularly distinguished, and be admitted, at least, to share with Mr. Pocock, the Second Sea-Officer, who was a Rear-Admiral. Mr. Watson replied, that it was impossible for him to make any alterations in the articles agreed upon in council ; neither indeed would his doing it be at all consistent either with custom or the different ranks which Admiral Pocock and Colonel Clive bore in the respective services. He told the Colonel, however, that to satisfy the wishes of the Army, which in the present situation of affairs, he deemed to be a point of the utmost consequence, he would give security under his own hand, to make good the deficiency, out of any monies he himself might be entitled to, so as to make the share of the Commander-in-Chief of the army and that of Mr. Pocock exactly alike. The Colonel, sensibly struck with Mr. Watson's disinterestedness, answered, that provided his officers were satisfied with the proposal, he for his own part should come into it with great cheerfulness. He accordingly took the first opportunity of making those gentlemen acquainted with the Admiral's declaration, who were so much pleased therewith that from that moment all discontent ceased, and the expedition went on with the greatest unanimity." ¹

Our author adds a footnote about the result of the above stipulation, showing a great self-denial on the part of Clive.

Dr. George Smith, in his *Memoirs of the life of Lord Clive*, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ² calls this " no little self-denial " on the part of Clive. It seems really to be so, and draws our admiration, especially when we know that, according to his biographers, the pecuniary affairs of Clive were not satisfactory at that time. As Lord Macaulay points out in his *Essay of Lord Clive*, ³ based on " *Sir John Malcolm's Life of Lord Robert Clive*," Clive had spent away, while in England,

¹ *Ives' Voyages*, pp. 81 and 82.

² Vol. VI, p. 9.

³ *Macaulay, Critical and Historical Essays*, Part II.

the whole of his moderate fortune that he had carried from the Madras side. He had extricated "his father from pecuniary difficulties" and "redeemed the family estate. The remainder he appears to have dissipated in the course of about two years. He lived splendidly, dressed gaily even for those times, kept a carriage and saddle horses, and, not content with these ways of getting rid of his money, resorted to the most speedy and effectual of all modes of evacuation, a contested election followed by a petition."¹

Looking to this condition of Clive's pecuniary state of affairs, it was really "no little self-denial" on his part to have refused politely a sum of £ 1,000 offered by Admiral Watson.

Dr. Ives gives two fine sketches—one of the views of the Gheria fort itself and the other of a view of the river from it. His account of the interview of Admiral Watson with the weeping family of Angria is really very touching. The interview brought about tears in the eyes of the Admiral. When the mother of the Angria bemoaned the flight of her son and said, "that the people had no king, she no son, her daughters no husband, the children no father," the Admiral consoled her by saying "that from henceforward they must look upon him as their father and friend." On hearing this, a boy, of about six years, sobbing said, "then you shall be my father." This reminds us of what we often hear of old *topeeewallas* being considered the real *mābāps* of the people.

At the close of the battle the fleet returned to Bombay on the 17th March and then left it on the 27th of April 1756. Our author then went with the Admiral to Calcutta, where the affairs of the Black Hole had attracted all available military and naval force. On his return homeward *via* Persian Gulf in 1758, on the death of Admiral Watson, his ship touched Bombay on 24th January 1758. He finally embarked from here on 8th February 1758.

¹ Lord Macaulay's Essay on Clive. "Critical and Historical Essays contributed to the EDINBURGH REVIEW" in 3 Volumes (1843), Vol. III., p. 138.

ART. XIX—*A few Notes on Broach from an
Antiquarian point of view.*

BY

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

(Read March 15th, 1907.)

In December last, Khan Bahadur Adurjee Muncherjee Dalal conveyed to me an invitation from himself and his colleagues, the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet of Broach, to pay a visit to their city for the purpose of delivering there one or two lectures and a reading from the *Shah-námeh* of Firdousi. In response to this kind invitation, I paid a short visit to Broach from 31st December to 3rd January. While there, I made some inquiries on a subject suggested to me by our learned Secretary, Mr. Edwardes, some time ago, and on two or three other subjects suggested by the visit to the city. The object of this paper is to present few notes on those subjects.

The following are the principal three heads under which I beg to submit my notes :—

- I.—The sites of the Dutch and English Factories.
- II.—The past history of Broach from a Parsi point of view and the part said to have been played in that history by the *Kabisah* (i.e., the intercalary month) question of the Parsis.
- III.—The *Kabir Vad* and the *tiraths* or shrines on the Nerbudda near Broach.

I.

The first subject on which I beg to present a few notes is that of the sites of the first English and Dutch factories. Our Secretary had written to me, in June 1905, to make some inquiries from friends at Broach, about the site of the first English factory. On 28th June 1905, I had written to my friend, Mr. Ruttonjee Muncherjee Dalal, requesting him to make such inquiries. On 21st August 1905, he wrote to me in reply giving the results of his inquiries. During my short visit I took up the question myself and made some inquiries personally.

The *Broach Gazetteer* says: "In the year 1613, Broach was visited by Aldworth and Withington, English merchants, and in the next year (1614), on Withington's return from Sind, a house in Broach was hired for a factory. In 1616 Sir Thomas Roe obtained from the Emperor Jehangier permission for the English to establish a trading-house at Broach on very favourable terms. They were to be allowed to live near the Governor, and the decree commanded no man to molest them by sea or land or take any customs of them¹. . . . The Dutch were not long of following the example of the English. In 1617 they also settled at Broach and established a factory.² But the Broach factory does not seem to have risen to much consequence. In the eighteenth century there was but one junior³ merchant and one book-keeper, with a few native servants under them."⁴ (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 468).

It appears from this account that the English (A.D. 1614) preceded the Dutch (1617) in founding their factory by about 3 years.

The site of the Dutch factory at Broach is well-known. There is no doubt about it. The large house⁵ in which it was situated, is still known as the *qal'at-i Bāḡ* (*Valandāni Kothi*), i.e., the factory of the Hollanders. In spite of the various changes which it seems to have

¹ Robert Orme gives the following version of Sir Thomas Roe in the matter of these concessions:—

"The two and twentieth (of July 1616) I received letters from Brampore, in answer of those to Mahobet Chan, who at first (request) granted my desire, making his firman to Barooch most effectual to receive our nation, and to give them a house near the Governor; strictly commanding no man to molest them by sea or land, or to take any *custome* of them, or any way trouble them under colour thereof. . . . The firman I caused to be sent to Surat (in order to be forwarded by the agency there to Broach): so that Barooch is provided for a good retreat from the Prince's injuries, and the custom given, whereby fifteen hundred pounds per annum will be saved besides all manner of searches and extortion."—(Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire of the Morattes, and of the English concerns in Indostan from the year 1659, by Robert Orme (1805), pp. 371-72).

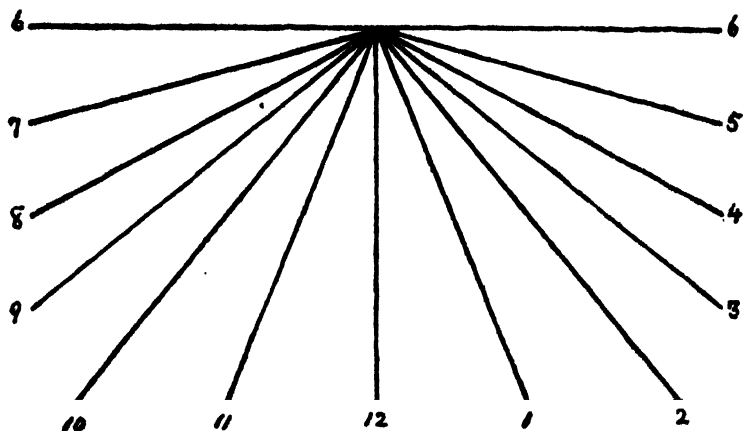
² Mr. Bendien, the Bombay Consul for Holland, has, after the above paper was read, kindly sent me copies of his articles on the Dutch in Broach. He gives Pieter Gillesen as the name of this first factor. (Vide his articles on the Dutch factories in the Neerlandia of January and February 1907. Vide the February issue p. 26 for this reference).

³ Jan Willem Six "Secundo" in the inscription in his tomb. Vide *infra*, p. 325.

⁴ "The factory at Baroche was established in the year 1617, and is still continued, yet with very little circumstance, for there is but one junior merchant, and one book-keeper, who reside there as factors, and who have a few native servants under them."—("Voyages to the East Indies by the late John Splinter Stavorinus," translated from the Dutch by Wilcocks, Vol. III (1798), pp. 108-09.)

⁵ According to Mr. Bendien the factory bears on the gate "as an inscription" the initials of the Company. (The Dutch East India Company, V with an 'o' and 'e' in the legs of V.)

gone through, for being adopted for small residential quarters, it still bears an inscription on the inside of a wall. I give below the form of the sun-dial with the inscription on it as copied by me from a distance on 31st December 1906. The dial with an inscription is within the court-yard of the factory on the top of the inside part of a wall abutting on a public road. The inscription on it bears the Christian year 1700 and the name of F. J. Groenevelt (F. J. Groenevelt Anno 1700). Above this inscription appear the initials of the Dutch Company.



The site of the first English factory is not known. But oral tradition, as heard there, says that the very house which was the seat of the Dutch factory was later on the place of the English factory. So, it appears that the English factory was, latterly, when the Dutch left it, transferred to this house. It is not known where it was when it was first founded.

The Dutch must have remained at least about 175 years at Broach. This appears from some of the dates on the tombs in their cemetery. This cemetery is situated about a little on the west of the village of Vijalpore, at a short distance from where the Parsi Towers-of-Silence stand. The *Gazetteer* says of the Dutch tombs that "these monuments bear dates ranging from 1654 to 1770." It would have been well had the *Broach Gazetteer*, which appeared in 1877, published the inscriptions on the tombs which are falling in ruins.

¹ *Broach Gazetteer*, p. 559.

The Dutch cemetery is an interesting place to see, because the construction of the tombs in it seems to be different from what we see in the case of tombs in modern English cemeteries in India.¹ I give the photographs of two of them at the end of this paper. I am indebted for these to Khan Bahadur Adurjee Muncherjee Dalal of Broach. On entering from the west we find a tomb with a platform containing four seats. Then there is a block containing three tombs. This block seems to have had a tablet which is removed. There is another block containing six tombs, one tomb has the form of a Mahomedan dome over it. One can count the ruins of about 20 tombs besides a few masonry mounds. In close proximity we find a small ruin like that of a basin of water.

I beg to suggest that careful photographs of all the tombs and especially of the inscriptions may be soon taken. I have taken copies of the inscriptions.²

I wrote about a fortnight ago to Mr. Couzens, the head of the Archæological Department, to ascertain, if the inscriptions are published by his Department in any report. I have not heard from him yet. This week I took my copy of the inscription to the Dutch Consulate here to get it translated. Mr. J. G. Bendien, the Consul, having gone to Holland, I saw Mr. Y. Von Rykoun, the head of the Holland-Bombay Trading Company. He could not give me a correct translation, because being in a foreign language and being very old, I have not been able, in a hasty visit, to copy the inscriptions well. I had requested a gentleman there to kindly get a good photo taken of them, but he has not done so yet. However I learnt from Mr. Rykoun that the Dutch Consul, Mr. Bendien, had once visited the Dutch cemetery, and has taken a photo of the inscriptions which he has published in a Dutch paper in Holland. I have written to Mr. Bendien to send us a copy with its translation. When received it will be worth publishing in our journal.³

¹ Mr. Bellasis, while describing the old tombs in the cemeteries of Surat, assigns the following reasons for the grandeur of these old tombs: "The Agents of these several nations vied with each other to live in the greatest splendour Men who lived in such grandeur may naturally be supposed to have emulated each other in creating ostentatious tombs to commemorate their dead; and thus we find the sepulchral ruins in the cemeteries of Surat, even at the present day, bearing witness to the large sums that must have been expended for these purposes." (Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI, pp. 146-47.) As Mr. Bellasis says, an idea of the grandeur of the Dutch tombs at Surat may be formed "by the fact of a bill being extant, charging Rs. 6700 to the Dutch Company for mere repairs" (Ibid, p. 19).

Vide Appendix to this paper. As I have latterly received copies of the Inscriptions more carefully taken by Mr. Bendien, the Dutch Consul, I give them in the appendix. Mine being those by one not knowing the language are naturally faulty.

² *Vide* u. 2.

While on the subject of the inscriptions on the Dutch tombs, I beg to draw the attention of a future reviser or editor of a second edition of the *Gazetteer* of the Broach district to several errors in the copies of the inscriptions of two other tombs as given in the *Gazetteer*.

The *Gazetteer* gives the inscriptions on two tombs near the village of Vijalpore. I give my copy of the inscription of the tomb of one which I saw, *vis.*, that of Capt. W. Semple :—

Beneath this stone
are deposited the remains of
Captain William Semple, ¹
of His ² Majesty's 86th Regiment,
who was killed by
cannon shot
at the siege of Broach
on the 25th of August 1803.
Universally and most sincerely
regretted by all his
brother Officers.

To us who are nearer the time, the mistakes may appear trivial, but after several centuries they, especially the mistake of "Her Majesty" for "His Majesty," may cause serious doubts about the date. A future student of historical data may, in the absence of other materials to put him on the right track, long linger in doubts about the date. If he takes the word "Her Majesty" to be correct, he may think, that perhaps the year 1803, given later on, may be a mistake for 1893 or for some other year. If he takes the date as correct, he may linger in doubts about the period of Her Majesty's reign.

I found similar carelessness on the part of either the copyist or the printers, in the matter of the inscription on the slab in the compound of the Civil Hospital within the fort on the grave of Brigadier David Wedderburn, who was killed while storming the city. He is the officer who is often referred to with curses and maledictions by Abas Alli in

¹ The name is not Sempie as given by the *Gazetteer*.

² The *Gazetteer* gives "Her Majesty", which is not, and cannot be, correct, as the year is 1803 when the late Queen had not come to the throne.

³ The *Gazetteer* omits this word.

his Urdu Kisseh-i-Broach to which I will refer later on. I give below a list of the errors and my amendations :—

Line of the inscriptions as given in the Gazetteer.	The Gazetteer's errors.	Correction.
Line 6	... July 26th 1861 ...	July 22nd 1761.
„ 6	... arrived ...	arrived here.
„ 8	.. Supreme Highness ...	Serene Highness.
„ 16	... Kirk Denkun (?) ...	Kirch Denckern.
„ 16	... Hillock ...	Hiltrup.
„ 18	... Luxenburg ...	Lunenburg.
„ 20	... pounds, was made ...	pounds, and was made.
„ 26	... The troops ...	Their troops.

To come back to the subject of the Dutch factory, the ancestors of Mr. Doolabhbhai Hargovandass (ફાલભાઈ હર્ગોવંદાસ,) who is now living, were in possession of a part of the Dutch factory building. One of these ancestors, Kisorebhai Tricumbhai (કિસોરભાઈ ત્રિકુમ્ભાઈ), was the broker or agent of the Dutch factory. He had relations with the Dutch in connection with their four factories of Agra, Ahmedabad, Broach and Surat. When the English took Broach, they made the place too hot for the Dutch. So they left it, but the factors being indebted to the broker, Mr. Kisorebhai, they gave him the factory-house in settlement for their debt. Laloobhai Divan, whose name is mentioned more than once in the Urdu account of the Nawab of Broach, as one who played false to his master the Nawab, and secretly assisted the British, then had it in mortgage from the proprietor for a small sum.

He is said to have obtained it under a threat, saying, that, if the then owner did not mortgage it to him, he (Laloobhai) would ask the British to loot it. They mortgaged it to him with a curse that the owner may not be happy. So the curse was said to live long on the subsequent owners, who, all in turn, are said to have been ruined in their business. The building is said to have once passed into the hands of Mr. Merwanji Frazer of Surat and of Mr. Merwanji Framji Panday of Bombay. I give this account on the authority of a member of the family. I had no other means to verify it.

II.

The next subject which drew my attention during my visit, and on which I beg to submit a few notes, is its past history especially from a Parsee point of view. It is said that the Parsees had, in more than one place, some hand, however small it may be, in the establishment

of the British power in this Presidency. Now, in the case of Broach, the information has come to me as a surprise, that it was the religious dispute, which the Parsees had among themselves in the 18th century on the question of the Kabiseh or the intercalary day, that had something to do, though indirectly and though very little, with the conquest of Broach by the British. The fact has been recorded, not by a Parsee author, but by a Mahomedan author who was a favourite courtier of the Nawab of Broach.

Before coming to this subject, I will put down here in brief (A) a short outline of the history of Broach from a Parsee point of view and (B) of the events that had brought about the rule of the Nawabs in Broach.

(A) Firstly, taking a bird's eye view of the history of Broach from the point of view of the modern Parsees and their ancestors, the ancient Persians, we determine the following land-marks :—

1. Fireshtë dwells at some length on the early connection of India with the ancient Persians, beginning with the very early dynasties of the Peshdâdians and the Kiânians. He makes an Indian king Krishna a contemporary of the Iranian monarch Tahmuras and then traces the relations, both friendly and hostile, subsisting at one time or another, between the Indian and the Persian kings. We would lay aside this narrative as one not standing on certain historical ground.

2. We have the authority of the Behistun Cuneiform inscriptions to say, that there was a closer connection between India and Persia, the former being one of the satrapies of the latter. But we would lay aside the consideration of that connection also, as we are not sure whether the influence of Persia extended so far as Broach.

3. But when we come to the Parthian times, we stand upon somewhat surer grounds. Fireshtë speaks of an Indian king Sinsârchand and says that he paid tribute to the Iranian king Godrez. Briggs says that this Sinsârchand was the Chandragupta of the Hindus and the Sandrocotus of the Greeks (Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I.). Now we know, that there was a king of the name of Godrez among the Parthian line of kings. The Sinsârchand, with whom his relations are referred to, seems to be, not Chandragupta himself, but one of his successors.

Again in the second century before Christ some of the Bactrian kings are said to have sent expeditions to the south so far as Cutch and Gujerat (181-167 A.D.). Here then we see, that with the successes of these expeditions in Gujerat, Broach must have passed for some time into

the hands of the Parthian kings of Persia. It continued for some time under the Parthian rule. It is to this fact, that the Gazetteer of Surat and Broach refers, when it says : "About 1,800 years ago, Broach seems to have passed into the hands of Parthian princes, known by the name of Sâhas or Kshatrapas. Rudradâman's Gîrnâr inscription, dated in the year seventy-two, probably of the Sâka era (A.D. 150); states this distinctly, and the occurrence of Sâha coins in the Broach District confirms it."¹

Menander to whom Prof. Wilson assigns the date B.C. 126, was connected with Parthia. He held paramount authority in Saurashtra. According to the author of the Periplus his coins were current in Broach in the first century after Christ.²

4. Coming to Sassanian times, we find Wilford³ saying that Gand'harva, referred to in the Agni Purâna and known as the Gadhârûpa in Indian history, was the same as Behrâmgour of Persian history. In my paper on "The Bas-relief of Behrâmgour at Naksha-i-Rustam, and his marriage with an Indian Princess",⁴ I have added a few points of similarity to those advanced by Wilford to prove the identity. Now Wilford says of this monarch that Hindus "show to this day (1809), the place where he (Behrâmgour or Gadhârûpa) lived about one day's march to the north of Baroach, with the ruins of his palace. In old records, this place is called Gad'hendra-puri or the town of the lord of asses. The present name is Goshêrâ or Ghojârâ for Ghosha-râyâ or Ghosha-râjâ : for, says my Pandit, who is a native of that country, the inhabitants, being ashamed of its true name, have softened it into Ghoshera, which has no meaning."⁵ According to Firdousi, the throne of Kanaouj passed, by virtue of the last testament of Sangel, the Hindu king, to the Persian king Behrâmgour and his heirs. This confirms what Wilford says that "the dynasty of the Gardâbhinas is probably that of the descendants and successors of Behrâm Gur in Persia. The princes in the north-western parts of India were vassals of the Persian kings at a very early period ; and the father-in-law of Behrâm-Gur used to send a yearly tribute to them."⁶

The legend on a set of old Indian coins, popularly known as "Gadhia-ka paisâ," supports the fact of Behrâmgour's visit to India and his marriage with an Indian princess, the daughter of the king of

¹ Bombay Gazetteer, Surat and Broach, Vol. II, p. 464.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII, pp. 35-36.

³ Asiatic Researches, IX, pp. 147-151.

⁴ Read before the B. B. R. A. S. on 17th Dec. 1894. Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIX., pp. 58-75.

⁵ Asiatic Researches, IX p. 151.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 155.

Kanouj referred to by Wilford. Prinsep affords us very valuable help on this point. In his essay on Saurâstra coins he says that the type of the series of Indian coins known as Gadhia-ka paisa is an "example of imitation of a Grecian original,"¹ and that "a comparison (of these coins) with the coins of the Arsakian and Sassanian dynasties of Persia, which are confessedly of Greek origin," satisfactorily proves that. Prinsep says on the subject of these coins: "The popular name for these rude coins—of silver and copper—is, according to Burnes, in Gujarât, 'Gadhia-kâ paisâ,' 'Ass money,' or rather, 'the money of Gadhia,' a name of Vikramâditya. . . . The Hindus insist that this Vikrama was not a paramount sovereign of India, but only a powerful king of the western provinces, his capital being Cambât or Cambay: and it is certain that the princes of these parts were tributary to Persia from a very early period. The veteran antiquarian, Wilford, would have been delighted, could he have witnessed a confirmation of his theories afforded by the coins before us, borne out by the local tradition of a people now unable even to guess at the nature of the curious and barbarous marks on them. None but a professed studier of coins could possibly have discovered on them the profile of a face after the Persian model, on one side, and the actual Sassanian fire-altar on the other; yet such is indubitably the case, as an attentive consideration of the accumulation of lines and dots (on the figures of the coins) will prove. Should this fire-altar be admitted as proof of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty in Saurâshtra, we may find the date of its establishment in the epoch of Yesdijird, the son of Behrâm-Gor; supported by the concurrent testimony of the Agni-purâna, that Vikrama, the son of Gadhâ-rupa, should ascend the throne of Mâlayâ (Ujjain) 753 years after the expiation of Chânakya or A.D. 441."²

A painting in the Âjanta caves refers to a Persian embassy to India. This also seems to refer to Behrâmgour, who, according to Firdousi, came in disguise as his own ambassador.

We have so far seen, that the ancient Persians had some connection with the country round Broach, and that old tradition, as found in the Agni-purâna, and old coins prove that connection.

Now we will speak of the connection of Broach with the early Parsee settlers in India.

(a) Div in Kathiâwâr was the first port where a band of refugees from Persia had landed in 761 A.D. and Sanjân the first place where they made their permanent settlement in 785 A.D. and built their first fire-temple in 790 A.D. They continued there for full 300 years.

¹ Essays on Indian Antiquities, by James Prinsep, edited by E. Thomas (1838), Vol. I, p. 335.

² *Ibid.*, p. 341-42.

Then they began to disperse in the different cities of Gujarat of which Broach was one.

The Kisseh-i-Sanjan, thus refers to this exodus from Sanjan⁽¹⁾:

بدینسان سال سیصد شد کم و بیش — وزانجا چند مردم شد کم و بیش
پراکنده شده در کشور هند — بهر جانب گرفته جای دلبد
بیانکنانیر بعضی رو نهادند — کسان در جانب بروج فتادند

Translation.—In this way, passed away 300 years, more or less, (i.e., about 300 years), as several persons, more or less, went away from that place. They were dispersed in the country of India and they got hold of (i.e. took abode in) attractive places in all directions. Many went to Bānkānir. Some went in the direction of Broach.

(b) This was in 1090. Two hundred years after this event, i.e., in 1270 A.D. they divided Gujarat into five *panthaks*, i.e., ecclesiastical divisions for the performance of sacerdotal functions. This was to avoid differences and quarrels among the priesthood about the spheres of their work. The Kisseh-i-Zarthushtiān-i-Hindustān thus speaks of this event.²

یکی روز هم دانای سنجان — جمع گشتند و بستند عهد از جان
کفیم تقسیم مایان این هم جای — که هر جا هست بهدینان خوشرای
هم جارا بکرده پنج تقسیم — نخست سنجان که سرحدش بدان هم
که حد او بود ای مرد خوشطور — ز رود پارتا آن رود دنگور
هم بهدین که چون درحد سنجان — بحکم موبدان باشند با جان
دگر تقسیم نوساری همی دان — بداده موبدانرا از دل و جان
ز رود پار تا آن رود بریاء — هم نوساریانرا اندر آن تا
مجال کسی نباشد در اینجا — هم حد خود سازند ملجا
تو کوداره بدان تقسیم سیوم — ز بریاء تا اوکلیسرای نیکو بوم
کفند آنجا هم کوداریان کار — بجان و دل هم موبد شوند یار
تو تقسیم چهارم ای نیکو دان — بدان بهرودج کو گویم حد و پیمان
زاو کلیسر که تا کنبایت دانی — هم سرحد بهروچیان بدانی
تو دانی تقسیم پنجم ای نیکو مرد — بگویم تا شد و معلوم ای رد
که کنبایت بگفته مرد دانا — بدینسان کرد شهر و ماوا
هم دانای سنجان اینچنین کار — بکرده تا نباشد کین و پیکار

¹ Vide my "A few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," p. 14.

² Vide *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

Translation.—“ One day all the wise men of Sanjan assembled and entered into a contract sincerely. (They said :) “ We will divide all these places where there are laymen of good thoughts.” They divided all these places into five parts. First is Sanjan, whose limit was in that direction. O men of good nature ! its limit is from the river Pâr to that of Dantur. All the laymen, when they are within the limits of Sanjan, may be willingly under the orders of the Mobads (thereof). Know the other division to be Naôsâri. It was given to the Mobads with all heart and life (*i.e.* with a sincere heart). All (the country) from the river Pâr to the river Bariâv, was under the power of the Naôsariâns (*i.e.* the Naosari Mobads). Nobody else would have any control therein. All would have security in their own jurisdiction. O good-natured man ! Know the third division to be Godareh from Bariâv to Aklesar. All the Godârians will officiate at that place, and all the Mobads may be friendly with their heart and soul. O man of good knowledge ! Know the fourth division to be Broach, whose limit and measurement, I will now tell you. Know that (division) to be from Aklesar to Khambâyet. Know all that to be the limit of the people of Broach. O good man ! Know the fifth division. O leader ! I will tell that to you, so that you may know it. Wise men have named it Khambâyet. In this way they have divided the towns and places. The wisemen of Sanjan have done this work (of division), so that there may be no quarrel and dispute.”

(c) A good number of Parsees must have settled in Broach before this date (1290 A.D.) of the division of *panthaks* or ecclesiastical jurisdictions. On the authority of a manuscript book of a Hindu gentleman at Baroda, Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel, says that a brick Tower of Silence was built at Broach in samvat 1365, *i.e.*, 1309 A.D. A brick tower even earlier than this is said to have been built there. I saw the ruins of a brick Tower of Silence on the 1st of January 1907. Though the outside of it shows very little difference from the modern towers, the inside seems to differ a good deal. For example we do not find in it different rows for males, females and children as are found in the modern towers.

(d) We learn from the Persian Revâyets, that Broach continued to be a Parsee centre for several centuries. In the letters received from the Zoroastrians of Persia by the Parsees of India, in reply to their questions on various religious subjects, we find Broach specially named, as one of the Parsee towns. The following Revayets mention the name of Broach.

1. The Revayet of 847 Yazdzardi (1478 A.D.) brought from Persia by Narimân Hoshang.

The Revayet of 850 Yazdazardi (1481) brought by Narimān Hoshang.

2. The Revayet of 1511 A.D. brought by an unnamed messenger.
3. The Revayet of 1533 brought by Kāus Kāmdin.
4. The Revayet of 1626 brought by Bahman Aspanyār.
5. The Revayet of 1627 brought by Bahman Poonjieh.

Not only did Broach Parsees take a part in these enquiries on religious subjects, but, at times, they sent messengers to Persia for the purpose from their own town. For example Narimān Hoshang, the messenger who went to Persia in 1478 and 1481 was a Parsee of Broach. Again Kāus Mahyar, who went to Persia in 1597 A.D., and Kaus Rustam Jelal, who went in 1768, belonged to Broach.

(B) Now I will give here a short outline of the events that had brought about the rule of the Nawabs, in the reigns of the last two of whom, the Kabiseh controversy of the Parsees seems to have raged a good deal, and is said to have had an influence on the state of affairs then prevailing.

In 1660 Aurangzeb got the city walls destroyed, because the city had long withstood his siege during the time of his war with his brothers. In 1675 the Mahrattas under Sivajee attacked the town and levied contributions. Finding the city without a wall for protection they returned in 1686 under Sivajee's son Sambhajee and plundered it. So, Aurangzeb ordered the city walls to be built again.¹

In 1696 Avory, an English pirate, had plundered several Mahomedan pilgrim ships. So, the English factory at Broach was closed like that at Surat and the British factors put into chains. In 1702 matters seem to have improved and the factory was again working. Before the middle of the 18th century the English and the Dutch both had withdrawn their factories. The Dutch returned sometime before 1772. In 1772 the English conquered Broach. It remained in their possession for about 10 years. In 1782 it was given to the Peishwa and in 1803 it was taken back by the British and is in their possession since that time.

¹ The *Broach Gazetteer*, II, p. 469.

Hamilton says "In Aurangzeb's wars with his brothers, about the year 1660, this town held out a great while against his army. That season proving a dry one Aurengzeb's folks suffered much for want of fresh water and provisions, but at last he took it, and put all to the sword that had borne arms against him, and raz'd part of the walls, and pronounced a curse on them that should repair them again. But the Savajee's incursions made him order the rebuilding then himself, and he christened it *Suckabani* or the dry city. (A new account of the East Indies by Capt. Alexander Hamilton, 1744, Vol I., p. 145.)

Before 1722, Nizam-ul-Mulk was the Viceroy of Gujerat under the Moguls. During his viceroyalty, he had made Broach a part of his private estate. In 1722, he assumed independence in Deccan. In 1736 Abhasing was the Viceroy of Gujerat. At this time, Abdulla Beg, held Broach from the Nizam-ul-Mulk under the title of Nek Âlam Khân. He was the founder of the line of Nabobs who ruled for 36 years. He died in 1738 and was succeeded by his second son Mirzâ Beg who ruled up to the time of his death in 1752 under the title of Nek Âlam Khân II. Mirza Beg was succeeded by his brother who died within 3 months. On the death of this brother, the succession was in dispute for two years. At last Syed Idrus of Surat, who had great religious influence, espoused the cause of Mirza Ahmed Beg, a grandson of Abdulla Beg, and placed him on the throne. This Mirza Ahmed died in 1768 and was succeeded by his son Mazed Khan the last of the Nawabs. The following table shows the geneology of these Nawabs :—

Genealogical table of the Nawábs of Broach.

Abdulla Beg (or Nek Âlam Khân I.) 1736-38		
First son (name not known).	(Second son) Mirza Beg (or Nek Âlam Khân II) 1738-52.	Third son who succeeded his brother Mirza Beg and ruled for 3 months. No successor for two years, 1752-54.
Mirza Ahmed Beg, 1754-68.		
Mâzad Khan, 1768-72. (the last Nawáb, overthrown by the British.)		

Now it was between this Mâzad Khan and the British that a dispute arose. The Gazetteer (Vol. II, p. 469) gives the following account of the dispute, prepared from the correspondence recorded in some of the volumes of the Secretariat Records :—

“The political connection of the English Company with Broach dates from their capture of Surat in 1759. There were certain claims of the Nawáb of Surat upon the customs revenue of the Port of Broach. These, together with a sum due to the English on account of an excessive levy of duties on cloth, amounting altogether to £15,000 (Rs. 1,50,000), the Nawáb of Broach was called upon to pay. In the early months of 1771 a body of the Company's troop in the neighbourhood of Surat was engaged against the Kolis. In the hope that a

military display might induce the Nawáb to propose some settlement of the claims made against him, the Chief of Surat was directed to transport this force by sea to the neighbourhood of Broach. These instructions the factors at Surat did not carry out. . . ."

We see from this account that the *casus belli* was a aim of money upon the Nawáb by the English.

Now the native account of the fight of the English with the Nawáb, referred to above, throws some further light upon this matter, and says that a Parsee of Surat was partly at the bottom of this question. This native account is very interesting from a Parsee point of view, because, as said above, it suggests that the question of *kabiseh*, or of the calculation of an intercalary month, which had produced a schism among the Parsees of India in the 18th century and which has produced among them two sects—the Kadmis and the Shehanshahis—had some connection with the above dispute between the English and the Nawáb of Broach.

The native account, which I beg to present, is that of a Mahomedan writer named Sayed Abbas Ali. He has written a short history of this dispute and the subsequent battle between the English and the Nawáb of Broach under the title of "*Kisseh-i-Nawáb Majuzkhan Bahadur of Broach.*"¹ It was written in Urdu. It has not been published and I have not been fortunate in seeing it in the original Urdu. But a Gujerati translation of it was published in 1869 by Mobed Byramji Fardoonji Vakil² of Broach under the title of ભાદામજી વાકીલ દ્વારા લખેલો નવાબ મજુઝખાન બહાદુરનો ઇતિહાસ. Two hundred copies of it were published then. The translation being out of print, in 1894, Mr. Sorabji Framjee Byramjee Vakil, a grandson of the original translator, has published a second edition. I am indebted to my friend Khan Bahadur Adarji Mancherjee Dalal for a copy of it. I think that the Gazetteer refers to the above *Kisseh* in its account of "the local details of the capture" of Broach when it says that it gives it on the authority of "A life of Mázád Khán," by one of his courtiers. The name of the Nawáb, as given by the *Kisseh*, is Maozuzkhan while the English writer gives it as Mazad Khan. The difference is not very important when we know that the last letter *dál* in the Urdu name, if written or read with an additional dot (*nukteh*), can be read 'z' instead of 'd'.

¹ I give this title as given by the translator of the *Kisseh*. According to Mr. Sorabshaw Dadabhoy Fardoonji, Munsiff of Broach, the author called his work "*Kisseh-i-Gamgoenae*," i.e., "The Story of Sorrow," probably because it described the downfall of the Nawab's regime. It was written in 1193 Hijree i.e. 1785 A. D.

² Mr. Sorabshaw Dadabhoy Fardoonjee Munsiff in his letter dated 5th January 1907 writes to me that he knew this translator. He was a priest and was practising in the Broach District Court in his full dress of *Jama Pichodi*.

Now the *Kisseh* gives the following account of the commencement of the dispute which, as said above, is interesting from a Parsee point of view :—

The Nawáb of Surat was Sayad Hakijuldin Khan. An Englishman, named Mr. Sam Gabriel¹, was the head of the English factory on behalf of the Company. Among the Parsees at Surat, there arose a great dispute about the calculation of time,² the difference of a month in calculation having arisen as the result of some letters received from Persia. There arose two parties. At the head of one, the Rasmi, who adhered to the old previous calculation was Minocher³. At the head of the other sect, the Kadmis, was Dhunjee⁴. The dispute had continued for some time. During that dispute Dhunjee, the leader of the Kadmi sect of Surat, writes to the Nawab of Broach to inquire into the matter of the question under discussion. He also wrote to his own Mulla⁵. The Nawab, therefore, sent for the two *ákhuns* i.e., preceptors of the Parsees, one Dastur Kamdin by name and another Pádashá⁶. He asked them to tell correct facts as described in religious books. Dastur Kamdin after a long consideration said that what Muncher, the leader of the Rasmis, said was correct and

¹ This Mr. Gabriel is Mr. Gambier of our historical writers.

It was in 1720 that one Jamasp, known as Jamasp Vichiyati came from Persia to India and pointed out the difference of one month between the calculation of the Zoroastrians of Persia and that of the Zoroastrians of India. In 1736 a layman, named Jamshed, from Persia, revived the question. In 1745 the Parsees of Surat had a regular schism for the first time. In 1768 Dhunjeshaw Manjishaw sent Mobad Káus Rustam Jalál of Broach to Persia to study the question there.

Mr. Muncherjee Kharshedj Seth (1714-1784) He was the broker of the Dutch Factory at Surat. He had great influence with the Nawab of Surat. He had twice been to Delhi to the Mogul Court for business purposes. Anquetil Du Peron (*Le Zend Avesta* I, Partie I p. cccxv) speaks of him as the courtier (broker) of the Dutch and as the chief of the Parsees of Surat (*le premier des Parsees de Surat*).

⁴ Dhunjeshaw Manjishaw (1713-1788) He was a great merchant of Surat and was the broker of the English factory. *Vide* foot-note No. 4 above.

In 1768, the dispute had taken a serious turn in Broach itself, and Dastur Kámdinjee of Broach the leading priest of the Shahanshahis or the Rasmis was sent to jail. The new party there was headed by Káus Rustam Jalál who was the father of Mulla Feroze and who was sent to Persia in the same year by Dhunjeshaw Manjishaw. The Nawab of Broach referred the matter to the Panchayets of Naosari and Surat. After some discussion lasting for several months the Panchayet of Surat wrote to Broach to continue in the Rasmi belief (*vide* "Parsee Prakash," I, p. 1863).

⁵ i.e., the high priest who led his sect. This was Káus Rustam Jalál.

⁶ Dastur Kámdinjee Fardunjee (1731-1781) who belonged to the Shahanshahi sect. He was the father of Aspandárjee who published in 1866 "કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓનો ઇતિહાસ,"

* According to the "Parsee Prakash" (Vol. I, p. 62) he was a well-known Kadmi priest of Broach. Homáji who is honoured by the Parsees of Broach as a martyr was hanged for killing Behanbai, the sister of Pádashá. She was a staunch Kadmi. A manuscript book on the Kabiseh controversy, in my possession, gives Pádashá's personal name as Rustamji. He was the great great grandfather of Mr. Burjorjee, the present Kadmi head-priest of the Mazagon fire-temple of Mr. Framji Patel.

what Dhanjee, the leader of the Kadmis, said was wrong. The Nawáb wrote accordingly to Dhunjee. So Dhunjee was enraged against the Nawáb of Broach for not having gained the opinion of the priests and for not having decided in the favour of his sect. He had a grudge against the Nawab and he was on a look out to wreak his vengeance.

Now it so happened, that some time after this event, the Nawáb stopped at the Customs Office at Broach some of the goods of merchandise belonging to Dhunjee, saying that custom duty was due on them. Dhunjee claimed exemption, but the Nawáb refused it and confiscated the goods. Dhunjee had to pay the custom dues. Dhunjee then went before Mr. Gambier, the head of the English factory at Surat, with whom he had great influence, and said that the Custom House of Broach was from the first under the control of the Port of Surat, that its income was about Rs. 1,00,000 per year, and that the Nawáb has not been paying it to the Surat factory for the last 40 years. Dhunjee succeeded in influencing Mr. Gambier, who wrote to the Nawáb of Broach claiming a sum of 40 lakhs as due from him to the Government of Surat which had the right of enjoying the customs duties at Broach. The Nawáb indignantly repudiated the claim. Thereupon Mr. Gambier declared war. Thus, it appears, that according to the native author, a religious dispute amongst the Parsees of the time had some connection with the fight between the Nawáb of Broach and the English.

We will now examine the Urdu *Kisseh* a little further, as it presents a few new facts from the Nawáb's point of view and throws some side light on the question of the fight between the British and the Nawáb.

Speaking of the fight, the Urdu *Kisseh* says that the Nawáb of Broach had asked assistance from Fatesingrao of Baroda, the Nawáb of Cambay, the Ruler of Dholka and the Raja of Rajpipla. Fatesing of Baroda is said to have had some sinister motives in sending his army for assistance. He was himself looking for an opportunity to seize Broach.

The English expedition to Broach was accompanied by 700 men belonging to the Nawáb of Surat under the command of the Bakhshi or paymaster.¹ About this Bakhshi the *Kisseh* says that he was in sympathy with the Nawáb of Broach and had sent a secret message to him about the advance of the British.

As the English account says, the expedition ended in a failure. "The management of the expedition had been in many points

¹ *Vide* the Broach Gazetteer, II, p. 470.

contrary to the instructions of the Bombay Government, and had ended in so complete a failure; the conduct of the officers concerned was made the subject of a committee of inquiry. The result of the inquiry was that Mr. Draper, the Chief of the factory at Surat, was removed and the other members subjected to severe reprimand and censure.¹ The native account gives a few details of the fight which, it says, lasted for 17 days.

The *Kisseh* says that Gambier sent a message with one Hirjee² seeking for peace. The Nawáb sent a message saying that "if you want peace I will not want war, but if you will want war I will not delay to fight."

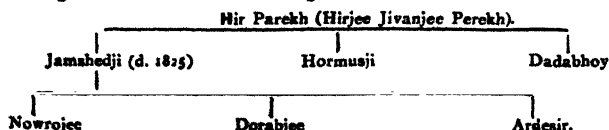
اگر صلح خواہی نخواہم جنگ
وگر جنگ جوی ندارم درنگ

Mr. Gambier returned to Surat and then sent a fresh demand of about Rs. 4 lacs of Rupees. He asked Laloo, the Dewan of the Nawab of Broach, whom he had taken with him to Surat, Dhunjee the Parsee broker of the English factory and Muncher, the Parsee broker of the Dutch factory, to meet Kalooba, the Dewan of Fatesingrao of Baroda and suggest some means for recovering some money from the Nawab of Broach. The result of their consultation was not known.

The Gazetteer says, "on the 30th July, 1771, the Bombay Government received a letter from the Nawáb of Broach offering to visit Bombay with the view of settling in person the claims brought against him. Mázad Khan's proposal was accepted, vessels were sent to Broach,

¹ Vide The Broach Gazetteer, II, p. 470.

² We learn from the "Parsee Prakash" (I. p. 191) that this Hirjee was a well-known Parsee of Surat. His full name was Hirjee Jivanjee Parekh and he was known as Hir Parekh. He was the *kárbhárt*, i.e., the household manager of Kaim-ul-Dawla, the Nawab of Surat. He had such a great influence with the Nawáb that the people of Surat generally said that *હીરને ક્યા સો પીરને ક્યા* (Hirné kyá so píre ne kya) i.e., whatever was done by Hir was taken (by the Nawab) to have been done by the Pír, i.e., the spiritual guide. He seems to have died long before 1825 A. D., because his son Jamsedji who was a great merchant, is reported to have died in 1825 A. D., at the ripe old age of 75. ("Parsee Prakash," p. 191). His family was long known in Surat after his death. The following table gives the names of his sons and grandsons :-



and, setting out at the close of the stormy season, the Nawab reached Bombay on the 4th November 1771. While in Bombay Mazad Khan was treated with every consideration."¹

Abas Ali's Urdu account says that it was the Government of Bombay that first invited him to go to Bombay. He refused at first, but being requested again, offered to go, not by land, but by sea and in full state. So ships were sent for him to Broach, in charge of Morley. One Parsee Nowrojee² accompanied him.

Abas Ali's account of the Nawab's visit to Bombay is very interesting, especially now, when the particulars of the visit of the Amir of Afghanistan are just fresh in our mind. The Nawab of Broach was then considered to be a personage of great position. The words અમલી નવાબ ભરૂચકે (Ambhi Nawab Bharooch ke) i.e., "I also am the Nawab of Broach," form a proverb in the Gujarati language. When a person claims some honor or precedence and puts on airs of being a

¹ Gazetteer, II, p. 470.

² We learn from the Parsee "Prakash," (I., pp. 97 and 98) that this Parsee Nowrojee was Nowrojee Nanabhoy Khambatta who died in 1804 A. D. at the ripe old age of 90. He was a forefather of Mr. Kharshedji Dinshaw Khambatta of Bombay. At first, he was an inhabitant of Bombay. From there, he had gone to Surat for trade. He was known among the Parsees as મોરલીના નવરોજી (Morley na Nowrojee), i.e., Morley's Nowrojee. This Morley is Mr. James Morley, the Resident of Broach, referred to by the Gazetteer (The Gazetteer of Broach, Vol. II., p. 471), and referred to by the *kisseh*.

Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramjee Patel thus refers in his "Parsee Prakash," c Vol. I., p. 27, to the fact of this Nowrojee going to Broach with Morley.

"ત્યાંથી (સુરતથી) ઇ. સ. ૧૮૦૨ માં મીઠો મોરલી નામના ઇસ્કે ઈડીઆ કંપનીના એક અમલદાર સાથે ભરૂચનાં નવાબ મોજુખાન પાસે જમીનને લગતું કાંઈ લિહુલ્લુ વસુલ કરવાને ભરૂચ આવ્યા હતા. એ પછી એવાએ પાતાનાં કુટુંબ સહીત ત્યાંજ મથક કીધું હતું, તથા ત્યાં મોરલીના નવરોજીને નામે એળખાતા હતા. ઇ. સ. ૧૮૦૩ માં ઇંગ્લેન્ડ સરકારે ભરૂચ લોકો પછી તેમની ઇવલ્યુએશન જાહેરો માલ વીગેરે પુર પાડવાનું કંટાળે એવણે લીધું હતું."

Khan Bahadur B. B. Patel gives no authority for his above statement, but on enquiring from him, he says that he has given this statement as he had heard it at Broach.

Now we find from the *kisseh* that the fact of Nowrojee going to Broach with Morley is correct, but the date of their arrival is not correct. In the first place, the Nawab Maujuz-khan was dead long before 1802 when Morley and Nowrojee are reported to have gone to Broach to demand the land-dues said to have been due from him. The error in the date seems to have arisen from the fact of mistaking the first conquest of Broach by the British in 1772 A. D., for the second conquest in 1803. After the first conquest and after keeping it for about 11 years, Broach was ceded to the Peshwa in 1783 in accordance with a treaty known as the Treaty of Sālbai (the Broach Gazetteer, II, p. 474). For 19 years it remained in the hands of the Mahrattas and then it was reconquered in 1803. So, the fact referred to by Khan Bahadur B. B. Patel occurred in 1772 after the first conquest and not in 1803 after the second conquest. The Gazetteer Vol. II., p. 471 says, "On the news of the capture of Broach, Mr. James Morley was appointed resident, with Messrs. James Cheape and William Mahon, joint factors, for the management of the concern and for collecting the revenues of the town." So the event referred to in the "Parsee Prakash" must be that of 1772.

great man this proverb is applied to him. Now it seems that the Nawâb of Broach was feted and received with honour in 1772 in the same way as the Amir has been now. I cull the following account from Abbas Ali's version :—

When Mr. Morley reached Broach, the Nawab was still in mourning for the death of his *ustâd* or spiritual guide. Two days were wanting to complete the 40 days' period of mourning. So Mr. Morley saw the Nawab two days after his arrival. Then the Nawab consulted his courtiers about his proposed visit. Some advised him to go and others dissuaded him. But at length he resolved to go. He sent his *pâigah*, i.e., infantry troops to Bombay by way of land. He took with him in the ships a retinue of 1,000 persons of whom about 100 were his courtiers, the author of the *Kissh* being one of them. The Nawab had 8 sons and 6 daughters. All these began to weep at the departure of the Nawab, who left Broach with a salute from the English ships. The ships anchored at the mouth of the river for one night and then at Surat for another night. Then from Surat it took them two days and a half to come to Bombay. They stopped on the coast of Mahim and from there Mr. Morley sent a letter with the Parsee Nowrojee to the General (i.e., the Governor) of Bombay informing them of their arrival. A *haveli* i.e., a palatial building near the *furjâ*, i.e., the Custom House, belonging to a Mahomedan Mulla, was furnished with carpets, chandeliers, lamps, pictures, etc., and it served as a residence for the Nawâb. About 10 to 11 battalions lined the road in honour of the Nawâb. Members of the Council headed by Mr. Wedderburn formed a deputation to receive the Nawâb. The ships which had anchored at Mahim came to Bombay, salutes were fired from all the ships in the harbour at the time when the Nawab got down from his Fatehmâri (a kind of big boat) into a boat. On coming to the shore, the Nawab was received with a salute from the guns in the fort. Among those that had met to welcome the Nawâb, were English *madams* who were like the houris of paradise. These ladies were all moon-faced. They looked like the garden of *chaman*, i.e., joy, their cheeks were rosy and their statures were so straight that even straight cypresses would look down with shame. Their eyes were like those of the deer and their ringlets put the lookers-on to shame. The Nawâb was pleased to see them, and, they, in their turn, were pleased to see him and began to talk about him amongst themselves. They began to make *kookoo* (i.e., to talk in a whispering tone) among themselves just as five or seven *mena* birds when they meet together. After their first surprise on looking at him they collected themselves and salaamed him.

The Nawâb then got into a golden palanquin. The *choddars* announced his arrival and departure. He was escorted by his own

body-guards. When the Nawâb came to where the artillery was stationed he was saluted by the guns. The Nawab then reached the house of the General.

The General welcomed the Nawâb and introduced him to his wife and daughter. Two persons acted as interpreters, one of whom was a Parsee. Mr. Hornby, the Governor (of whom the author of the *Kisseh* speaks as the General) expressed his delight at the Nawâb accepting his invitation. Tea was soon served and after a short time the Nawâb departed for his residence.

The next day the Governor paid a return visit.

Governor Hornby and the Nawab both had issued strict orders to their soldiers and sepoys that they should avoid disputes and quarrels with one another. In spite of this caution, once an European had a quarrel with a man of the Nawab. The latter dislocated the hand of his opponent. The Nawab therefore ordered that a hand of his servant may be cut off in punishment. This coming to the ears of the Governor, he interceded and pardoned the man.

The Nawâb was once invited by the Governor to a private interview. The Governor, his wife and daughter met him in their garden and had their tea there. At the time of the evening prayer (*nemâs*), one of the servants of the Nawâb, while spreading the shawl to serve as a carpet broke a valuable chandelier of Mr. Hornby's house worth about Rs. 3,000.

The Nawab stayed in Bombay for about two months and was entertained by Mr. Wedderburn and other members of the Council.

As to the political question, to settle which the Nawâb was called to Bombay, it was arranged that the Nawâb should pay a sum of Rs. 4 lacs by six-monthly instalments within 2 years. The Nawâb then left Bombay with all honors. Mr. Morley accompanied him as the British Resident at Broach. The Nawâb, not paying the first instalment within the time fixed, Mr. Morley left his court. Another expedition, headed by General Wedderburn, and aided by Mr. Watson, went to Broach. In the fight that ensued, General Wedderburn was killed, but in the end, Broach fell in the hands of the English on 18th November 1772.

III.

The next subject of my notes is a visit to the well-known Kabirvad (*i.e.* the Kabir banyan tree) growing on an island formed by the sacred Nerbudda. About 130 years ago, Forbes said that the tree

with its 350 large and over 3,000 small stems occupied a space of about 2,000 ft. in circumference and sheltered about 7,000 men under it¹. Bishop Heber considered it to be "one of the most noble groves of the world." A writer in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay said that the tree struck him "with an awe similar to what is inspired by a fine Gothic cathedral." Some of these later writers refer to the fact that the different trunks of the tree are being washed away by the floods of the river. I saw it on the morning of 2nd January 1907, and I may say, that in no sight-seeing in my travels was I so much disappointed as in the case of the Kabir vad. From a spectacular point of view, the tree, as it now stands, is not worth a visit after a long drive. The idea that I formed of the tree on seeing it, fell too short of the ideal that I had formed of its greatness from what I had read of it. We happen to see more lovely groves of banyan trees in other parts of the country. Again, the state, in which the ground on which it stands and spreads, is kept, adds to our disappointment. If it be cleared of the short brushwood growth and kept clean, the disappointment would not be so great, and the ideal not so ruthlessly spoilt. As it is, there are not even a few yards which would attract you to rest and shelter there for a few hours after a dusty journey of about 2 to 3 hours.

Tradition says that Kabir, the great poet, philosopher, and moralist, happened to be at this place. The tree grew out of the twigs of a banyan tree with which he cleaned his teeth and which he threw there. The Kabirpanth is said to have a large number of followers, and one would naturally expect to see a large number of them at this place connected traditionally with his name. But that is not the case. Very few people of his sect are seen here. Even the temple there, known as the shrine of Kabir, is served by priests of sects other than the Kabir faith.

It was the sacredness of the Nerbudda that had drawn Kabir to its banks, and it is this sacredness that gives further sanctity and importance to this Kabirvad and its shrine.

We hear the following verse about the Nerbudda and three other sacred rivers of India :—

મંથા પાણી.
જમના સ્નાને.
નર્બદા દર્શને.
તાપી સ્મરણે.

¹ Gazetteer, p. 356.

- i.e. The Ganga (Ganges) gives sanctity by its water,
The Jamna by its baths,
The Nerbudda by its sight,
The Tapti by meditation (on its banks).

The shrine of Kabirjee near the Kabir *vad* is one of the several *tiraths* or shrines on the banks of the Nerbudda. The following is the list of such *tiraths* as dictated to me by the priest of a Luxmi Narayen temple at Sukal-tirath :—

1. Survaneshwar सुवानेश्वर. It has an image of Mahadev. It is about 15 miles from Chandod.
2. Kunbeshwar कुम्भेश्वर. It has an image of Hanumân. It is on the other side of Kaniâri.
3. Kumesomnâth कुमे सोमनाथ at Kaniari.
4. Shekh Sohiji Mahâraj शेख सोहीजी महादेव near Chandod.
5. Sukhdev सुख देवो.
6. Vyâs व्यास.
7. Gangnath गंगनाथ near Chandod.
8. Hansoyâ Mâtta हुंसोया माता near Ambawi.
9. Bhandareswar Mahadeo भण्डारेश्वर महादेव near Senore.
10. Gunpati गुणपती at Senore.
11. Karticksvami कार्तिकेयजी near Sisodrâ.
12. Kubereshwar कुबेरेश्वर near Kotal.
13. Kabirji कबीरजी. It has an image of Kabir and it is under the shelter of the Kabir *vad*.
14. Vadrâsu वद्रासु near Mangleshwar.
15. Sukal-tirath.

Of all the *tiraths* or the shrines on the bank of the Nerbudda near Broach, that of Sukal-tirath is the best known. In the Vâyu Purâna, it is spoken of as the best of all the Tiraths in the northern banks of the Nerbudda (सर्व तीर्थेष्वनुत्तमम्)¹. It is about 10 miles from

॥ श्री मार्कण्डेय उवाच ॥

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि सर्वं तीर्थेष्वनुत्तमम् ॥

रेवाया उत्तरे कूर्के शुद्ध तीर्थं युधिष्ठिर ॥ १ ॥

(as quoted in the विनंती पत्र of the temple)

i.e., Mârkaṇḍ Rishi says : O Raja Yudhishtira. Hear the account that I give you of the Tirath of Shikârtirath which is situated on the northern bank of the Nerbudda and is the best of all *tiraths* (रेक Revâ is a name of the Nerbudda).

Broach. The place itself has three tiraths or shrines, of which the holiest is that of Hunkareshwar हुंकारेश्वर. The image in this shrine carries in its four arms the four emblems of Vishnu. In its two right arms it carries the padma, *i.e.*, the lotus and gada, *i.e.*, the sceptre or mace. In its two left arms it carries the chakra, *i.e.*, the wheel or the disc, and the sankh, *i.e.*, the shell.

Tradition tells the following story about its discovery as a *tirath* :—

Chānakya, the King of Ujjain, was attacked with leprosy. It was thought to be the result of his sin.¹ So he thought of purifying himself of that sin, hoping that such a purification would cure him of his leprosy. In order to find out the most holy place, the pilgrimage of which could free him of his sin and cure him of his disease, he asked the crows, who had in those early times white feathers and not black feathers, to go to the death-god Yama and to tell him that king Chānakya was dead. On hearing this news, Yama gave instructions as to where his soul was to be led by his (Yama's) attendants for purification. The crows heard the instructions and returning to Chānakya said that the place of purification was somewhere on the Nerbudda, that he must sail down the Nerbudda in a boat with black sails, and that the place where the sails turned from black to white, might be taken as the place of purification. The king did accordingly, and while sailing down the Nerbudda, when he came down to the village of Sukaltirath, the sails immediately turned white. The king got out on the shore and bathed at that place in the sand and in the water of the Nerbudda and was purified of his sin and cured of his leprosy. When the death-king Yama knew of the trick played upon him by the crows at the instance of Chānakya, he punished the crows by cursing them and by changing to black their feathers, which were up to then white. It is for this reason that we have the black colour of the crows.²

This story of Yama, sin, leprosy, and the crows reminds us of the belief of the ancient Persians about leprosy. Herodotus says of the Persians (Bk I. 138) :—

“ Whosoever of the citizens has the leprosy or scrofula, is not permitted to stay within a town, nor to have communication with other Persians ; and they say that from having committed some offence against the sun a man is afflicted with these diseases. Every stranger that is seized with these distempers, many of them even drive out of the country ; and they do the same to white pigeons, making the same charges against them.”

¹ According to Herodotus (I. 138), the ancient Persians also considered leprosy to be the result of sin.

² *Vide* the Broach Gazetteer, p. 568.

NOTES ON BROACH.

We see from this passage of Herodotus that the ancient Persians also connected leprosy with sin. The white doves of this passage remind us of the white crows referred to in the above description of Sukaltirath. Again, the Yama in the above story of Sukaltirath is the Yima of the Avesta, the Jam of the Palhavi books and the Jamshed (Yima Khshaeta) of the later writings. It is in the second chapter of the Vandidad, which treats of a *vara* or stricture of Yima, that we find a reference to leprosy.

The Persians were so much afraid of the lepers, that we learn from the Classics, that Magebazus, a Persian satrap who was sentenced to be banished, took advantage of this fear prevailing among his countrymen and made his escape, pretending to be a leper.

We went to the opposite bank of the Nerbudda where the Kabirvad stands on an island, from Mangleshwar (मंगलेश्वर). Here, at Mangleshwar, I met a Rajput, whose story showed us that there are many persons in India, persons of poor means, who travel thousands of miles along the whole country of India, from the Himalayas in the North to Rameshwar in the South, out of devotion to visit sacred places *tirthas* and to purify themselves. Mansing Rajput, of whom I speak, had travelled up to Badrinath, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the Himalayas. He had brought with him the sacred water of the Gangootri. He had kept the water in a sealed bottle and proposed to go one day to Rameshwar with that water. The sacred water of the Gangootri near Badrinath, when thrown by a pious devotee over the image of Mahadeo at Rameshwar, raises a little the size of the image, and that is a sure sign of the acceptance of the prayers of the devotee. Hundreds and thousands are said to travel the whole distance on foot. Again, there are many more hundreds and thousands who travel by train. They, at times, carry the sacred water with them in their bottles. But that is not the most acceptable way of devotion. The water is not to be taken in the train by which people of all faiths and of all kinds of impurities travel. So, they say there are professional carriers who travel to and fro from Badrinath. They receive sealed bottles of the sacred water from different pilgrims with labels of their names attached to them, and, travelling on foot, carry the bottles to the destinations of the different travellers. They charge a certain rate per bottle for their work.

APPENDIX.

In the body of my paper I have referred to the visit of Mr. J. E. Rendien, the Dutch Consul in Bombay to the Dutch tombs at Broach. In reply my toletter referred to above, Mr. Bendien has kindly sent me

copies of the issues of the Dutch journal "Neerlandia" of the months of January and February 1907, wherein he has published an account of his visit to the towns of Surat, Broach and Ahmedabad, each of which had a Dutch factory in the 17th and 18th centuries. In his letter to me, dated 4th April 1907, Mr. Bendien says about the tombstones : "The majority of the tombstones bear no inscriptions : particularly of the larger monuments, nothing can be deciphered, as the inscriptions, if they still do exist, partly are buried under cement or whitewashed."

When I had read my paper, I had submitted copies of the inscriptions as I had copied them in a hasty visit ; but, as I find, that Mr. Bendien has given them in the above Dutch journal, I give his copies below. Mr. Bendien has kindly translated them for me, and I give his translation also. I thank him for the help he has given me.

INSCRIPTION I.

Hier rust Johannis Groenevelt,
 Die desen naam, voor Hem bestelt
 Niet lange Droegh, vermits D'Doodt
 Hem in ons aller Moeder schoot
 Diedt draagen : En Syn leven al
 Was maar 2 uyren in 't Getal
 Obyt en wiert geboren in Brootsch
 Den 10 Sept : 1666.

Translation.—Here lies Johannis Groenevelt who did not bear very long this name which was ordered for him, as Death carried him to the lap of Mother Earth, and his life was only hours 2 in number. Died and was born in Broach on the 10th September 1666.

Mr. Bendien thinks that perhaps this was the first child of Mr. Groenevelt who first founded a regular factory at Broach and was its first director. We find his name on the sun-dial with the date 1700 A.D.

INSCRIPTION II.

"Hier rust Anna Marrianne Van Brondhout (?) 22 Maenden en 10 Daagen. Obyt 23 Augusty 1654."

Translation.—Here rests Anna Marrianne Van Brondhout 22 months, 10 days. Died 23rd August 1654.

INSCRIPTION III.

“Hier onder rust Antoni Christiaan, oud 23 Maanden en 12 Daagen.
Obit den 20 May, Anno 1702.”

Translation.—Here rests Antoni Christian, old 23 months and 12 days. Died 20th May, year 1702.

Mr. Bendien observes in the above journal, that “It is not surprising that only the inscriptions on the children’s tombs are preserved. They were the largest in number in the cemeteries of Europeans in India.

INSCRIPTION IV.

“Hic (? Hier) Jacet Jan Willem Six. In Zijn leven Secundo Alhier.
Obyt den 32 (sic) Maart, Anno 1744.”

Translation.—Here lies Jan Willem Six. In his lifetime he was Second¹ here. Died the 32 (?) March, year 1744.

There is another inscription on an obelisk, on which Mr. Bendien can only read the name “Martinus.”

Secundo means second merchant, *i.e.*, a junior merchant. Stavorinus seems to refer to merchants of this class as junior merchants. (*Vide* above, p 299.)

ART. XX.—*The Parâsariya Dharma Sâstra.*

BY THE LATE MR. SHAMRAO VITHAL.

(COMMUNICATED BY THE PRESIDENT.)

(Read 26th September 1907.)

INTRODUCTION.

Before entering upon my task of reviewing the *Parâsara Samhitâ* it would not, I think, be out of place to make a few observations on the Hindu Dharma-Sâstra generally.

DHARMA.

The word Dharma is derived from the root धृ to hold or support and is defined to mean that which has the characteristic of enjoining or ordaining some duty or act which leads to prosperity in this world and to supreme felicity in the life to come. The term Sâstra is derived from the root शास् (शास्) to command or teach and in its primary sense signifies a command, a rule religious or civil. In its extended sense it includes any religious, scientific, philosophic or legal treatise or any sacred book or composition of divine or standard authority.

Dharma as defined above consists of two branches, one dealing with what is called the *Pravritti-Mârga*—the path of active or worldly life, the other with what is called the *Nivritti-Mârga*—the path to the soul's final liberation from existence and exemption from re-birth by withdrawing or separating oneself from the world.¹

The Dharma-Sâstra with which we are concerned here deals chiefly with the *Pravritti-Mârga* and lays down rules for the conduct of man both religious and secular.

THE SOURCES OR PROOFS OF DHARMA AND THEIR RELATIVE AUTHORITY.

According to orthodox opinion of the present day the sources or proofs of Dharma are fourfold, *vis.*, (1) the Veda or Śruti, (2) the Smṛiti otherwise called Dharma-Sâstra, (3) the Purânas, and (4) Āchâra—Usage.

THE ŚRUTIS.

The Aryan Scriptures known as the Veda (the true or divine knowledge) consist of four principal divisions, namely, the R̥g-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sāma-Veda and Atharva Veda with six supplementary compositions called the six Vedāngas (Members of the Vedic body of scriptures) added to them. These six Vedāngas are :—

- 1 Śikshā (Pronunciation).
- 2 Kalpa-Sutras (Ritual).
- 3 Vyākaranam (Grammar).
- 4 Nirukta (Word explanation or etymology).
- 5 Chandas (Metre).
- 6 Jyotisha (Astronomy).

The four Vedas and the six Vedāngas together are called the Parā Vidyā or supreme knowledge.

Recently a controversy has arisen as to what constitutes the Veda strictly so called, the late Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaja, being the originator of this controversy. Each of the four Vedas is composed of two parts, the first consists of the Mantras (hymns) and the second the Brāhmanas. According to Dayananda Saraswati, the first part constitutes the real Veda—'ṛuti' or revelation, and the Brāhmanas are simply a commentary produced by the Rishis on the Mantras. He maintained that the word Brāhmana is synonymous with Itihasa, Purana, Kalpa, Gatha and Nārāṇsi; that no Rishi except Katyayana has recognised the Brāhmanas as revelation pure and simple, that the Mantras alone form the true Veda directly revealed by Deva, that they are the foundation of all knowledge; and that the Brāhmanas and other Angas (Members) of the Veda are authorities, only because they are derived from and agree with the Vedas. We may here passingly remark that according to Bhatta Yagnēswara Dharma the R̥g-Veda is the Veda *par excellence*.¹

The Aryas recognise the 'ṛuti' as described above as the root and foundation of all knowledge. Manu declares the whole Veda to be the source of Dharma and that its authority on questions of Dharma is transcendent and absolute.

Where there is a conflict between two Śrutis "both are held to be law; for both are pronounced by the wise (to be) valid law."

¹ तथा चैतरेय ब्राह्मणस्य प्रथमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थखण्डे श्रूयते । "एतद्वै यज्ञस्य सशृद्धं यद्रूपसशृद्धं यत् कर्मक्रियमाणशृग्भिवदति" इति ॥ कृष्णयजुर्वेदेऽपि श्रूयते । "यदेतत्साम्नाय-जुषा क्रियते तच्छिषिषिषम् यदृचा क्रियते तत् इदम्" इति । एतेन ऋग्वेदस्य सर्वतोऽन्यादि-तत्त्वमवगम्यते । इति आर्यविद्या सुपाकरे ॥

THE SMRITIS.

The word *Smṛiti* is derived from the root स्मृ to remember and it designates what was only remembered and handed down by human authors such as Manu, Yājñavalkya and other great sages. The following description of the *Smṛitis* given by Mr. Colebrooke may be accepted as substantially correct :—

“The laws of Hindoos, civil and religious, are by them believed to be alike founded on revelation, a portion of which has been preserved in the very words revealed and constitutes the *Vedas* esteemed by them as sacred writ. Another portion has been preserved by inspired writers who had revelation present to their memory, and who have recorded holy precepts for which a divine sanction is to be presumed. This is termed *Smṛiti*, recollection, (remembered law), in contradiction to *Śruti*, tradition (revealed law).

“The *Vedas* concern chiefly religion and contain few passages directly applicable to jurisprudence. The law civil and criminal, is to be found in the *Smṛiti*, otherwise termed *Dharma-śāstra* including duty, or means of moral merit. So much of this as relates to observances may be classed together with ancient and modern rituals (bearing the designation of *Kalpa* or *Paddhati*) as a separate branch ; and forensic law is more particularly understood when the *Dharma-śāstra* is treated of.

“That law is to be sought primarily in the institutes or collections (*Samhitas*) attributed to holy sages ; the true authors, whoever these were, having affixed to their compositions the names of sacred personages, such as Manu, Yājñavalkya, Vishnu, Parāśara, Gautama, &c.”

THE ORIGIN OF THE SMRITIS.

Bhattacharya Kumārila in his *Tantra-Vārtika* says :—

शास्त्रानां विप्रकीर्णत्वात् पुनरावर्णनं प्रमादतः ।

नाना प्रकीर्णस्यत्वात् स्मृतेर्मूलम् न दृश्यते ॥

The origin of the *Smṛitis* cannot be traced on account of the *Śakhas* lying scattered here and there, on account of human carelessness or error and on account of the variety of topics with which they (the *Smṛitis*) deal.

Mādhavāchārya in his *Jaiminiya Nyāyamālā-Vistāra* gives a more reasonable explanation. He says that the *Smṛitis* are digests in which the Vedic ordinances which lie scattered in the several *Vedas* are epitomised or collected in one place.

The late Mr. Prossonno Coomar Tagore in the Preface to his Translation of the Vivāda-Chintāmani ascribes, on the authority of Raja Ramamohan Roy, the origin of the Smritis to a revolution which led the people of India to withdraw the legislative power from the hands of the executive authorities and entrust it exclusively to the holy sages. This theory appears to rest on the rules which are contained in the Manu and other Smritis for the constitution of what are called *Parishads* or councils to determine points of law.¹ But one grave difficulty in the way of our accepting this opinion is the radically inconsistent orthodox belief given expression to over and over again in Sanskrit writings that all law emanates from God and that the Smritis, the so called Codes of Manu and other sages, derive their sanction only because they (the authors of the Smritis) "had revelation present to their memory." If that is so, it is evident that there could be no legislative power in the executive to be withdrawn and entrusted to the sages.

Another view as to the origin of the Smritis which has found favour with some later oriental scholars is, that after Buddhism had declined, or commenced to decline, the metrical Smritis including the Code of Manu came into existence during, what Dr. Bhandarkar calls, the Kushan-Gupta period, extending over 250 years from about the middle of the third to the end of the fifth century after Christ, as a part of the process adopted by the Brahmanas to give a new and more popular shape to the literature of their creed with the object of widening their influence and rendering it permanent.*

I do not think that this explanation can be accepted as an adequate solution of the question.

It seems to me to rest on too narrow a basis. It first of all supposes that before Buddha appeared as a teacher nothing occupied India but animal sacrifices, Vedic ritual and the propitiation of the Brahmanas at the cost of the other classes of the community. It next assumes that Brahmanism, which had suffered for several centuries from neglect and contempt, was able not only to recover lost ground but also to conjure up new gods and re-establish its supremacy by producing such a vast amount of literature as that represented by the metrical Smritis,

¹ Manu, XII 108-115.
Yājñavalkya, Introduction, 9.
Viṣṇu III, 20.
Baudhāyana, I, 8.
Gautama, XXVIII, 49
Parāśara, VIII, 2-29.
Mahābhārata, VII, Ch 36, V. 20

* A Peep into the Early History of India. The Journal of the B. B. of the R. A. Society Vol. XX, No. LVI, p. 356.

the Bhāshyas, Purānas and other branches of learning including poetry, within two hundred and fifty years. Lastly, it ignores the important element of civil law with which the Codes of Manu, Yajñavalkya, Nārada, Brihaspati and others deal, and by implication, if not directly, suggests that Indian civilisation began with Buddhism.

I take this opportunity to give expression to a view which the perusal of the contributions of oriental scholars and their Indian followers to the early history of India has forced upon my mind, namely, that the lines on which the investigations of these *savants* have proceeded are not calculated to guide the critical spirit of the day correctly and judicially. The method of dividing the subject into what are designated the Vedic period, the Buddhistic period, the Brahmanic period, the Hindu period and any number of other periods—a method which was originally introduced on grounds of convenience—has engendered a spirit of theorising and partisanship which is prejudicial to the discovery of truth pure and simple. It has led to the vicious habit of treating each of these subjects as distinct from the other. It makes the student or investigator forget that there is a principle of continuity running through the life of a nation and that a nation's development for good or for worse proceeds according to certain fixed and general laws.

I should hold that the Indian Vaidiks, Buddhists and the Brahmanas together form essentially one people, the periods going by their names representing only different phases of thought, and that a history of their civilisation, which ignores this fact and isolates any one from the other periods as if it were entirely independent of what preceded and followed it, proceeds, in my opinion, on erroneous lines. Again a work which deals with a particular period should, I think, be strictly confined to the collection of materials relating to the condition of society during that period. It should not go further and generalise on those partial data.

The changes through which Aryan thought in India has passed from the earliest Vedic period to the present day are due to the operation of natural causes and not to causes personal to this class or that class. It is not historically true to say that the Rishis and their descendants invented the Vedic sacrifices, the Vedic ritual and the system of caste with motives of individual aggrandisement. It is equally wrong to say that Buddhism was the result of caste oppression. As truly observed by Professor Oldenberg, for hundreds of years before Buddha's time, movements were in progress in Indian thought which prepared the way for Buddhism. Buddha was not a social reformer. He did not abolish caste and place Indian society on a democratic basis as is

generally supposed. He let the state and society remain what they were. To quote again Professor Oldenberg, the conception of Buddha as the victorious champion of the lower classes against a haughty aristocracy of birth and brain is historically untrue.

It is stated by some writers, who have taught themselves to regard Brahmanism as the source of all the evil we see in India, that the Brahmans were deadly opposed to Buddhism and that it was owing to their persecution that Buddhism left India to seek shelter in more tolerant lands. We quote another deep student of the Buddhist literature to show how unfounded this assertion is. Mr Rhys Davids in his *American Lectures on Buddhism* says "It is very interesting, as evidence of the wonderful toleration which prevailed at that time through the valley of the Ganges, that a teacher, whose whole system was so diametrically opposed to the dominant creed and logically so certain to undermine the influence of the Brahmans, the parsons of that day, should nevertheless have been allowed to carry on his propaganda so ceaselessly and so peacefully through a considerable period of time. It is even more than that. Wherever he went, it was precisely the Brahmans themselves who often took the most earnest interest in his speculations, though his rejection of the soul theory and of all that it involved was really incompatible with the whole theology of the Vedas and therefore with the supremacy of the Brahmans. Many of his chief disciples, many of the most distinguished members of his order, were Brahmans. * * On the whole he was regarded by the Hindus of that time as a Hindu. We hear of no persecution during his life, and of no persecution of his followers till many centuries afterwards. And it is a striking result of the permanent effect which this spirit of toleration had, that we find the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka, in his famous edicts inculcating reverence to the Brahmans and to the teachers of rival sects as much as to the leaders of his own persuasion * * * But this is only one proof out of many of the fact we should never forget that Gautama was born and brought up and lived and died a Hindu. His teaching, far-reaching and original as it was, and really subversive of the religion of the day, was Indian throughout. Without the intellectual work of his predecessors his own work, however original, would have been impossible * * * Buddhism is essentially an Indian system."¹

In fact the decline of Buddhism in India was due to its own inherent weaknesses and it was complete before the time of Bhatta Kumārila and Śaṅkarācārya who are said to have flourished at the end of the

¹ There was absolutely nothing new in Buddha's teaching. His doctrines were identical with the corresponding Brahminical doctrines. Only the fashion in which Buddha proclaimed and disseminated his principles was something altogether novel and unwonted. Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, Third Edition, pp. 288-290.

7th century and about the latter part of the eighth century after Christ respectively.

To return to my subject from this rather long digression, I think that the same causes which in former times led and which at the present day lead to the codification of laws among advanced nations were the origin of our Codes of Manu, Yājñavalkya and other law-givers, namely, the growth and expansion of society and the necessity for consolidation. Originally there were no priests among the Indian Aryas. The patriarch or head of the family presided at and performed the ceremonies prescribed by the Veda ; but in course of time three causes brought about a change in their mode of life and led to the creation of a special class to attend to the singing of hymns and officiate at the performance of the ritual connected therewith, namely, 1st, the constant struggles with the aborigines to establish Aryan supremacy ; 2ndly, when this had been accomplished, internal dissensions or civil wars sprang up among the Aryan tribes, the chief or king of one tribe contending with that of another for superiority , and 3rdly, the elaboration of the sacrificial literature and the establishment by the Kurus, the Pāṇchālas, the Videhas, Kosalas and Kāśis, of powerful kingdoms in the country between the Jamuna and the Ganges and the regions to the east of the Ganges, the effect of which is summed up by Mr R. C. Dutt in his *Ancient India* as follows — “Manners changed, society became more refined and polished, learning and art made considerable progress. Kings invited wise men in their polished courts, held learned controversies with their priests, formed elaborate sacrifices according to the dictates of religion, led respectable and trained armies to the field, appointed duly qualified men to collect taxes and to administer justice and performed all the duties of civilised administrators. * * * * The priests multiplied religious rites and observances, preserved the traditional learning of the land and instructed and helped the people in their religious duties.”

As a consequence of this social and political development, condensation of the large mass of scattered Vedic literature became necessary to avoid overburdening the memory and certain Rishis composed manuals giving a collective and concise summary of the law systematically arranged under the heads of *Srauta* (sacrificial), *Grihya* (domestic) and *Smārta* or *Dharma* (legal). These manuals, which are called the *Sutras*¹ and which form the third stage in the sacred literature of the Hindus, led to the formation of what are called *Sutra Charanas* or *Vedic Schools*. These schools, in their turn, produced the different *Smritis* called after the names of their founders.

¹ *Sutra*, literally a thread, means a short rule or precept, an aphorism (in morals, religion and science).

From very early times India has been a trading country. Besides a large home trade, it had an extensive commerce with foreign countries both by land and by sea. With the rise of the Buddhistic spirit, India's intercourse with foreign nations became wider, and this circumstance naturally was followed by a rise in its trade. Hence a necessity must have arisen for the codification of the rules regulating mercantile usages and contactual relations between parties to commercial transactions. It is, I think, in this way, and in this way alone, that those portions of the Code of Manu which relate to civil jurisprudence can be explained.

If we find in it a large element of sacerdotalism asserting the supremacy of the Brahmana, we also find side by side with it a degree of self-denial imposed upon him which is scarcely equalled by any other system of priesthood in the world, ancient or modern.

There are other reasons also why I cannot accept Dr. Bhāndarkar's view as regards the date at least of Manu. I think it a farfetched idea to say that the restrictions put by Manu upon the use of meat as food was due to the desire to effect a compromise between Brahmanism and Buddhism.¹ To me it seems more reasonable to ascribe those restrictions to a feeling that had been slowly growing against the free use of flesh as an article of food, particularly among the higher classes, and that this feeling worked itself out fully when the Buddhistic school of thought became predominant. I am inclined to hold that even the limited liberty which Manu's Code allows in favour of the use of animal food is strong evidence against the theory that the Code was framed at a later period than Buddhism.

There is a passage in the Manu Smṛiti (X. 43, 44) which says that certain tribes of Kshatriyas, such as the Pundrakās, the Dravidās, the Yavanās, the Śākās and the Pahlavās had gradually sunk to the level of Śūdrās by reason of their omission, in disregard of the Brahmanas, to observe the Vedic rites. This passage, it is argued by Dr. Bhandarkar, falsely invests the tribes it refers to with a Kshatriya origin with a view to increase Brahmanic influence, and that therefore it proves the Manu Smṛiti to belong to a period when the foreign domination of the Yavanās, &c., had come to an end, and the Brahmanas had won their victory completely. Dr. Bhandarkar has tried to support his view by passages quoted from a certain chapter of the Ānūsāsaniya Parva of the Mahābhārata in which the Brahmanas are portrayed as mightier than gods and the self-same tribes as are

¹ As a matter of fact the doctrine of अहिंसा (non-injury) is a Vedic doctrine, and it is a question how far Buddha was strict in the use of meat as food. It is said that he died of dysentery brought on by eating pork. *Vide* Hopkins on Religions of India (1896), p. 320.

referred to in Manu are said to have become Śudrās for the self-same reason as that given in Manu. Coupling the two together the learned Doctor comes to the conclusion that the particular chapter in the Ānuśāsanika Parva and the Manu Smṛiti were written about the same time and with the same motive, namely, to secure the patronage of the non-Aryan rulers for Brahmanism by flattering them with a fictitious nobility of origin.

With great deference to the learned Doctor, I say, I cannot agree with him. I do not think he has succeeded in establishing his proposition. My reasons are briefly these.—

First.—The learned Doctor admits that about the time when, according to him, the Manu Smṛiti was written, Brahmanism had fully won its victory.

Secondly :—The non-Aryan tribes, Yavanās, Śākās, Pahlavās, &c., had established their war-like character and capacity to rule, some of them before and others very early after the Christian era. Therefore they must have established themselves in popular estimation as kingly races before the end of the fourth century A. C.

Thirdly.—The non-Aryan conquerors fought for the overlordship of the country and not for the distinction of being known as the descendants of the Kṣatriyas “who had sprung from the arms of Him the most resplendent One.”

Fourthly.—The passage in question far from being calculated to humour the pride of the non-Aryan rulers carries a sting in it. What is given by its first part is taken away by the second. It elevates and lowers them in the same breath. Moreover, how far a fictitious label of ancient noble origin can reconcile one to degradation in the present and make him a patron and friend of his degraders is a question.

Fifthly :—The passages from the Ānuśāsanika Parva of the Mahābhārata such as those which declare that “one whom they (the Brahmanas) praise prospers, one whom they reproach, becomes miserable” &c., &c., have no evidentiary value. They are simply Arthavāda—laudatory expressions. We can point out similar passages in other parts of the Mahābhārata. They cannot acquire a special value by reason of their being found in company with passages describing Yavanās, Śākās, Pahlavas, Dravidās as Kṣatriyas. The whole fabric of Aryan society in India rightly or wrongly is founded upon the superiority of the Brahmanas as counsellors and upon the supremacy of the Kṣatriyas as rulers.

Sixthly :—In the Śānti-Parva, which immediately precedes the Ānuśāsanika Parva, it is stated that the Āndhrakās, Guhās, Pulindās,

Śabarās, Chuchukās and Madrakās in the south and the Yavanās, Kāmbojās, Gāndhārās, Kirātās and the Barbaras in the north are degraded out-caste tribes, unfit to rule.¹ Is this passage also an interpolation designedly made after the overthrow of Buddhism and the re-establishment of Brahmanical supremacy? Again in another part of the same Parva, Bhishma, while instructing Yudhishtira on the duties of a Kshatriya is stated to have quoted a discourse between the Kshatriya king Māndhātṛi and Indra.² In this discourse Māndhātṛi asks the question "What duties should be performed by the Yavanās, the Kirātās, the Gāndhārās, the Chinas, the Sabarās, the Barbaras, the Śākās, the Tushārās, the Kankas, the Pahlavās, the Āndhras, the Madrakas, the Pundras, the Pulindas, the Ramathas, the Kāmbojas, the several castes that have sprung up from Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras that reside in the dominions of (Arya) kings? What are those duties again to the observance of which kings like overselves should force those tribes that subsist by robbery?"

Indra answers :—All the robber tribes should serve their mothers and fathers, their preceptors and other seniors and recluses living in the woods. All the robber tribes should also serve their kings. The duties and rites inculcated in the Vedas should also be followed by them. They should perform sacrifices in honour of the *Pitris*, dig wells (and dedicate them to universal service), give water to thirsty travellers, give away beds and make other seasonable presents unto Brahmanas. Abstinence from injury, truth, suppression of wrath, supporting Brahmanas and kinsmen by giving them their dues, maintenance of wives and children, purity, peacefulness, making presents to Brahmanas at sacrifices of every kind, are duties that should be practised by every person of this class who desires his own prosperity. Such a person should also perform all kinds of Pāka-Yajñas with costly presents of food and wealth. These and similar duties, O sinless one, were laid down in olden days for persons of this class. All these acts which have been laid down for all others should be done by persons of also the robber class, O king!

Mandhatri says :—In the world of men, such wicked men may be seen living in disguise among all the four orders and in all the four modes of life.

Indra answers :—Upon the disappearance of kingly duties and of the science of chastisement, all creatures became exceedingly afflicted, O sinless one, in consequences of the tyranny of kings."

¹ Moksha Dharma, Ch. 20.

² Raja Dharma, Ch. 65.

What do these passages show? They appear to me to record a fact of great importance not only historically but also sociologically and ethnologically. They may, I think, be taken as proving beyond all doubt that the Vedic Aryan society had long before the Christian era lost its pristine purity by the admission into its pale, openly or secretly, forcibly or peacefully, of people of foreign and non-Aryan war-like races and that there was no special or new end to be gained by the author of the Code of Manu describing them as belonging to the Kshatriya caste.¹

Seventhly :—We have evidence of a definite character to place the Institutes of Manu much earlier than the period imagined for it by Dr. Bhandarkar. Patanjali, who flourished in the second century B. C., in the *Vyakaranamahābhāṣya* VI, I, 84, adduces Manu II, 120, without any variant. Dr. Buhler in his Introduction to the *Manu Smṛiti* has summed up the whole of the evidence including the passages relied upon by Dr. Bhandarkar and has come to the conclusion that the remotest limit assignable to the *Manu Smṛiti* is the third century B. C. and the lowest limit cannot be later than the second century A. D. To me this date seems to be more acceptable than that fixed by Dr. Bhandarkar.

Eighthly :—Assuming that the passage in Manu does indicate the special motive assigned to it by Dr. Bhandarkar, that circumstance alone cannot make the whole of the *Smṛiti* a production of the Kuśān-Gupta period. It is believed by Dr. Buhler and other Sanskrit scholars that the *Manu Smṛiti* contains interpolations. If this is true, the passage in question may be one of such interpolations.

Ninthly and lastly :—The *Manu Smṛiti* is remarkably free from that sectarian spirit which taints a large number of other extant *Smritis*.

I have in dealing with Dr. Bhandarkar's view as to the date of the *Smritis* confined my observations to the Code of Manu as it occupies the first and foremost place in the list of works of that class.

MANDLIK ON THE SMRITIS.

The late Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik has, in his work on Hindu Law, recorded a large amount of information on the subject of the *Smritis* and his conclusions may be shortly stated as follows :—

(1) There are no guides to the *Smritis* like the *Anukramanikas* nor *Sarvanukramas* of the *Rigveda*, and with the materials at present

¹ The following text quoted by Madhavacharya from the *Vana-Parva* also points to a confusion of the castes in the Kali age

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः सन्निवृत्तः परस्परम् । शूद्रतुल्या भविष्यन्ति तपःसत्य
विचर्जिताः ॥ स्वभावात् कूर कर्माणश्चान्योन्यमविर्षं किताः । भवितारो नराः सर्वे
सम्प्राप्ते युगसंख्ये ॥

available it is not possible to determine their extent or antiquity either positive or relative.

(2) The number of Smritis is very great. Many have been lost. Some exist as fragments; others are only known from quotations in other Smritis or Digests of more modern writers. Their number is differently stated by different ancient writers. Yājñavalkya and the Agni-Purāṇa name twenty, Viramitrodaya names fifty-seven, Paithinasi thirty-six, the Garuda Purāṇa eighteen, the Mahabharata about twenty-five; Hemādri in his *Dīna-Khanda* quotes texts of fifty-five Rishis and in his *Vratakhanda* twenty-eight.

Mādhavācharya in his commentary on Parāśara, after alluding to Manu, cites a passage from Paithinasi which gives names of thirty-six Smritis and says there are many more among whom he names Vatsa and ten others. The twelve Mayukhas contain extracts from ninety-seven different Smritis. In the Nirṇaya Sindhu, Kamalākara refers to 131 Smritis and Ananta Deva in the *Samskāra-kaustubha* quotes 104. Besides these other Smriti passages are given but their authors are not named.¹

(3) There are several works under the name of the same reputed author with titles but slightly changed, e.g., Manu, Vriḍḍha-Manu, Brihan-Manu. The words Brihat and Vriḍḍha are used synonymously. On the question whether works appearing under one name with Vriḍḍha or Brihat sometimes prefixed to it are works of different authors or have any common basis, Mr. Mandlik differing from Sulapani and Mitrāmīśra is of opinion that such works are productions of different individuals and that their being named after the same author is due to the one being an expansion or an epitome of the other. As regards their date he says there are no data for deciding whether the epitomes or the larger works are of a later date than those whose expansions or epitomes they appear to be; but he states that in several instances the larger works appear to be the subsequent productions.

(4) As regards the composition (contents?) of the Smritis nothing can be yet definitely pronounced. Some take Smritis as Śrutis preserved by tradition. Others consider them as supplements to Sūtras.

¹ Their (of the Smritis) number is great; the sages reputed to be the authors being numerous—according to one list eighteen; according to another twice as many; according to a third many more—and several works being ascribed to the same author, his greater or less institutes (Vrihat or Laghu) or a later work of the author when old (Vriḍḍha). (Colebrooke quoted by P. C. Tagore in his Preface to the *Vivāda-Chintamani*). See also West and Bühler on *Hindu Law* Third Edition, pp. 26–27, where after giving a list of 88 Smritis the authors state: "Even this list most likely does not comprise all the ancient works on Dharma and a more protracted search for MSS., and a more accurate investigation of the modern compilations, will, no doubt, enlarge it considerably."

"Others again hold them to be dissertations or compilations of approved usages and customs promulgated at different times by or under the sanction of eminent sages or their followers. Some are evidently sectarian works; some are compilations from other writers; while others, as they now stand, are confined to particular subjects or branches of particular subjects.

(5) The Smritis are works explanatory of Dharma as received by tradition; and where the tradition has been lost or has become obsolete, the Smṛiti becomes useless

(6) The rule, that in cases where there is a conflict between the Śruti and Smṛiti the former is to be obeyed, is not always followed in practice. In like manner, the rule, that in a conflict between the Smritis and the Purāṇas the latter should give way, has lost its force and practically the Smritis have hardly much scope left.

(7) The present Âchāra (practice) is more influenced by the Purāṇas than by the Smritis.

With reference to the above account, it may be remarked that the Rao Saheb's view that the rule as regards the relative priority between the Śrutis and Smritis is not always followed in practice and that the Smritis have been practically superseded by the Purāṇas cannot be received in its entirety. It is no doubt a fact that for a long time past—for over a thousand years according to Mr. R Dutt (Ancient India, Vol. I, p. 133)—the Purāṇas have exercised a large influence on the religious life of the Hindus. But it cannot be said for this reason that the authority of the Smritis has disappeared altogether. The Gṛihya ceremonies are still performed according to the Sūtras and Smritis. The courts of law still consult Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Brihaspati and other well-known law-givers. On questions of Âchāra no conscious departure is allowed from their precepts, and, whatever authority the Purāṇas enjoy is based upon the theory that they follow the Śruti and Smṛiti in what they lay down. It may be further stated that the critical spirit which contact with western thought has given rise to must in the long run succeed in displacing the Purāṇas from the high place which they have filled in the sacred literature of the Hindus as authorities on question of Dharma.

THE AUTHORITATIVENESS OF THE SMRITIS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION.

We have stated above that, according to the theory of the Indian Aryas, the Vedas are eternal and that they are the foundation and root of all knowledge. But, in the progress of intellect, a time came when new schools of thought sprang up and boldly questioned the claims

of the Vedas to divine revelation. They argued with great force that the Vedas were not eternal, that they were full of contradictions and unintelligible dicta and that the system of ritual and sacrifices built upon them was opposed to principles of right reasoning.

This revolution in thought, which seriously threatened the safety of the conservative Vedic school, led to the formation of the method of exegetics known as the *Mīmāṃsa* of Jaimini, which is one of the fourteen sources of knowledge referred to by Yājñavalkya.¹ Vijnāneshwara explains *Mīmāṃsa* to mean the investigation of Vedic texts. This system was founded by Jaimini and it lays down rules in the form of Sūtras or aphorisms for the interpretation of the texts of the Vedas and Smritis. It recognises only one method of proof—namely *Śabda Pramāṇa* (शब्दप्रमाण), word-proof, i.e., the proof derived from revelation or Vedic precepts, and does not admit the validity of the methods of proof by perception, inference and analogy, on questions of Dharma.

After establishing as a fundamental proposition that the Vedas are eternal and not of human origin, it makes a classification of sentences or texts into principal and subordinate. A principal text (विधिवाक्यम्) is mandatory in its nature and prescribes or prohibits any particular act or conduct. Mandatory texts are of four kinds; 1st, texts (अपूर्वविधिः, or उत्पत्तिविधिः) which contain absolute and unconditional commands which are independent of any other cause; 2ndly, texts of the character of restrictive injunctions (नियमविधिः) which merely regulate the time, place and manner of performing an act towards which a person may be inclined instinctively or of his own accord; 3rdly, texts of the nature of exclusive specification (परिसंख्याविधिः). These last are, as one writer has described them, injunctions in form, but prohibitions in purport. As an example of this kind of texts, we may mention the precept "Man shall eat the flesh of the five clawed animals." This cannot be an *apūrvavidhi*, because men may eat the flesh of such animals of their own accord without any injunction to that effect. Nor is it a *Niyama-Vidhi*, as no time or place or manner is prescribed. The conclusion, therefore, is that man shall not eat the flesh of any other clawed animal than the five specified ones. Fourthly, texts which repeat an injunction previously declared (अनुवादः).

The class of subordinate texts are called *Artha-vāda*, *Stuti-vāda*, or *Guna-vāda* (अर्थवादः, स्तुतिवादः, गुणवादः). They have not the force of law. They are to be taken as explanatory statements confirming or strengthening the signification of the principal propositions or mandatory texts.

¹ Yājñavalkya, I, 3.

The authority of the Smritis stands next to that of the Śrutis. The theory is that every rule prescribed by a Smṛiti is drawn from a Vedic precept and that, therefore, a Smṛiti text which conflicts with a Śṛuti text must be absolutely rejected as no authority whatever.

This theory is carried to such a length that the existence of a Vedic text in support of a Smṛiti text must be presumed even when one cannot be actually produced. According to this theory of their origin, all the Smṛitis are of equal antiquity and of equal authority. There ought to be no conflict between them. The fact, however, is that they differ on many points; and the following principles, some of which we find laid down in the Smṛitis themselves, are to be observed in determining which of the two conflicting Smṛitis should be preferred. Yājñavalkya declares that, where there is a conflict between two Smṛitis that which is reasonable according to *Vyavahāra* shall be preferred. Mitākshara explains the word *Vyavahāra* to mean (व्यवहारः), the usage observed by the elders or the wise from time immemorial.

The commentators, however, follow a different method which is called the method of *Ekavākya*tā or *Vishaya-Vyavasthā*—the principle of unanimity or the adjustment of contradictory passages. This method requires that in interpreting the Smṛitis you should bring them all into harmony as far as possible and prevent a conflict arising between them. It is assumed, in the words of Mr. Mayne, that the Smṛitis constitute a single body of law, one part of which supplements the other, and every part of which, if properly understood, is capable of being reconciled with the other.

The commentators, accordingly, try to maintain this position by assuming that texts, seemingly in conflict with each other, really provide for different cases or different sets of circumstances or for different ages. By way of illustration, we shall take the case of the right of females to take property by succession. Baudhāyana denies such right to women on the ground of a Vedic text; while Yājñavalkya and others recognise the right of the widow, the daughter, the mother and grandmother to inherit. The commentators explain this conflict by supposing that the Vedic text quoted by Baudhāyana refers to women other than those expressly mentioned in the Yājñavalkya and other Smṛitis. To take another instance, Nārada says:—If, among several brothers, one childless should die, the others shall divide his property, making a provision for his women till they die, in case they remain faithful to the bed of their husband. While, Yājñavalkya declares that the faithful widow, the daughter, the daughter's son, the parents, the brothers, the brothers' sons, the Gotrajas, the

Bandhus, the fellow student, each, in default of the other, shall inherit the property of a man dying sonless. The Mitākshara explains this conflict by holding that the text of Nārada refers to the succession to an undivided or reunited co-parcener, and that the text of Yājñavalkya refers to succession to a separated brother. Again, Manu favours unequal division between brothers by allotting a double share to the eldest, while Yājñavalkya enjoins that the division shall be equal. This conflict is explained by Vijñānesvara by stating that Manu's text relates to a different age. To give a fourth instance, Manu prohibits gambling and betting, while Nārada and Brihaspati allow it. Mitramiśra in the Viramittodaya explains this conflict by stating that Manu's prohibition relates to cases where false dice are used or the permission of the king has not been obtained.

The Mimāṃsa, in the section on the authority of the Smritis, lays down two special rules which are worth mentioning. One of these is to the effect that, where there are two contradictory Smṛiti texts, one of which has direct support from a Śruti text and the other lacks such support, the former should be followed and the latter rejected, the rule, that from a Smṛiti text the existence of a Śruti text shall be inferred, being explained away by the argument that a Śruti text which is actually known to us has priority over what may have been known to another, but of which we are not cognisant.¹

The other rule is that, as the Veda cannot err, a Smṛiti text, which can be traced to an objectionable motive consistently with actual experience, has no binding force, although there is no contradictory Vedic text actually forthcoming. This proposition is thus illustrated. In the Jyotishstoma sacrifice it is ordained that when the sacrificial animal is brought to the altar an oblation called the '*Vaisarjana homa*' should be performed and the animal let loose. On that occasion the sacrificer, his wife, sons and brothers are covered with new clothes, to the end of which the handle of the sacrificial ladle is tied and the oblation performed. There is a Smṛiti text which says that these clothes of the '*Vaisarjaniya homa*' are taken by the officiating priest. Now, this text is not binding, although there is no actual Śruti text against it, because it is possible to infer an origin for it in a selfish motive on the part of the officiating priest, as we know by actual observation that priests employed in consideration of receiving a fee are avaricious.²

With all the ingenuity which our authors and commentators have exercised in establishing a harmonious relation between the different Śrutis and Smritis, we can only exclaim in the words of Yudhiṣṭhira :—

तर्कोऽप्रतिष्ठः श्रुतयोविभिन्ना नैकोऽप्यर्थस्य मतप्रमाणम् ।

धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायां महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः ॥

¹ Purva Mimāṃsā, Ch. I, Part III, 3.

² Purva Mimāṃsā, Ch. I, Part III, 4.

Logic has not basis, the scriptures are divided ; there is not one seer whose opinion is authoritative. The truth about right is hidden in a cave ; the only path is that pursued by the Majority. (Mahābhārata Vana Parva, chapter 313, v. 107.)

PURĀNAS.

We will now proceed to consider the subject of Purānas as proof on questions of Dharma.

The word Purāna signifies belonging to ancient or olden times as opposed to *Nutana* or new, and the characteristic of a true Purāna, as determined by authority, is that it deals with five topics ; *vis.*, the creation of the universe, its destruction and renovation, the genealogy of gods and patriarchs, the reigns of the Manus and the history of the solar and lunar races.

The existing works which bear the name Purāna are of two classes — the *Mukhya* or the principal and the *Upa* or secondary. All the authorities agree in fixing the number of both at eighteen. There are other Purānas besides ; but they are not of importance to us here. A list of all these Purānas, the authorship of which is ascribed to the sage Vyāsa, is given in the late Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik's Introduction to his work on the Vyavahāra Mayukha and Yājñavalkya Smṛiti.

The Rao Saheb says that their extent and time of composition are uncertain. He, however, gives them an antiquity and position which is neither supported by the authorities he relies upon nor by the results of the investigation of Sanskrit scholars. The Rao Saheb identifies the eighteen Purānas with those referred to in the Śruti and Smṛiti writings. He says that they are distinctly alluded to in the Vedas and Sūtras and that, from the order in which they are directed to be recited, they appear to rank after histories, like the Mahābhārata, and before the Kalpa Sūtras. Against this view attention has first to be drawn to the conviction entertained by the late Dayānand Saraswati whose knowledge of the Sanskrit sacred literature was of a very high order. He maintained that the Purānas which are referred to in the Vedic writings and which are entitled to recognition as proof on questions of duty, are the same as the Brāhmanas, and not the works in Anustubha Śloka which now pass under that name. He argued, I think rightly, that the words Itihāsa, Purāna, Kalpa, Gāthā and Nārasamsi, as used in the old Vedic writings, are synonymous and that nothing more was meant by them than the Brāhmanas either in their entirety or in parts. This view is fully supported by the definition of Purānas given by Mādhavāchārya in his commentary on Taittirīya Āraṇyaka. Manu does not recognise

the eighteen Purāṇas as a source of law. Yājñavalkya, having included them in the fourteen sources of knowledge enumerated by him, declares that the Śruti, Smṛiti, the approved customs, what is agreeable to one's conscience and a perfectly lawful and well considered desire are the roots of law. The latter text is almost identical with the text of Manu declaring the sources of law. Hence, on a consideration of the two texts of Yājñavalkya, it would appear that the sage intended to declare the eighteen Purāṇas as a source of knowledge only and not of law¹. Further, Jaimini makes no mention whatever of the eighteen Purāṇas in his system of Mīmāṃsā.

We have next the authority of Professors Buhler² and Weber which almost entirely agrees with the view propounded by Dayānanda Saraswati. Professor Buhler, in his Introduction to Apastamba's Dharma-Sūtras in the Sacred Books of the East Series, fully subscribes to what he calls the opinion held by the most illustrious Sanskritists that, in general, the existing Purāṇas are not identical with the works designated by that title in Vedic works. Professor Weber makes the point clearer. He says (History of Indian Literature, Third Edition, 190):—"Side by side with the Itihāsas we find the Purāṇa mentioned in the Brahmana as the designation of those cosmogonic inquiries which occur there so frequently and which relate to the 'agra' or beginning of things. When in course of time distinct works bearing this name arose, the signification of the term was extended, and these works came to comprehend also the history of the created world and of the families of its gods and heroes as well as the doctrine of its various dissolutions and renovations in accordance with the theory of the mundane periods (yugās). As a rule, five such topics are given as forming their subject, whence the epithet *Panča-lakṣhana* which is cited in Amara's lexicon as a synonym of Purāṇa.

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वशो मन्वतराणिच।

भूम्यादि चरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्॥

These works have perished and those that have come down to us in their stead under the name of Purāṇas are the productions of a later time, and belong all of them to the last thousand years or so. They are written in the interests of and for the purpose of recommending the Śivā and Vishnu sects; and not one of them corresponds exactly, a few correspond slightly, and others do not correspond at all,

¹ Yājñavalkya, I 1, 7.

Professor Wilson observes that the Purāṇas are not authorities in law. They may be received in explanation or illustration, but not in proof. H. A. Wilson's Works, Vol. V., p. 46.

² Buhler's Manu, Introduction, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV, p. 55.

with the description of the ancient Purānas preserved to us in the Schollasts of Amara and also here and there in the works themselves."

This statement of Professor Weber is followed by a quotation from Lassen as follows :—" For the old narratives, which are in part abridged, in part omitted altogether, have been substituted theological and philosophical doctrines, ritual and ascetic precepts and especially legends recommending a particular divinity or certain shrines."

According to the author of "Ancient India" the Purānas which exist now were composed in the Purānik Period, which he dates from 500 A. D. to 1194 A. D. (Ancient India, Vol. I, 32 ; Vol. III, 35) and they have been since altered and considerably enlarged during many centuries *after* the Mahomedan conquest of India.

The most conclusive argument on the point, in my opinion, is furnished by the Manu Smṛiti. This work, which mentions the Purānas among the sacred writings which an Aryan house-holder should recite in the presence of his guests at a sacrifice in honour of the manes, is perfectly free from all sectarian influence and nowhere teaches the performance of other rites than those prescribed in the Vedic writings, and nowhere inculcates the exclusive worship of any of the deities of the Purānik sects.

Further, Mr. Mandlik himself admits that the Purānas mentioned in the Śrutis and Smṛitis rank before the Kalpa Sūtras. If that is so, it is clear that these Purānas cannot be the same as the eighteen works which pass under the name Purāna.

There is another most important fact to be noticed in this connection and it is this :—The popular theory regarding the origin of the eighteen Purānas is that they were composed by the sage Vyāsa chiefly for the instruction of Śūdras and women in the Kali age to whom the study of the Vedas was forbidden. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that the eighteen Purānas are not identical with the Purānas mentioned by Manu, Yājñavalkya and other Rishis.

The posteriority of the Purānas, as they now stand, to the Smṛitis is shown by the fact that the first and third books of the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti have been incorporated in the Garuda-Purāna and the second book in the Agni-Purana.¹ The author of the Bhavishya-Purāna has largely drawn on the first three chapters of the Manu-Smṛiti.²

Assuming that they have a place as proof on questions of duty, that place is admittedly below that of the Smṛitis. In other words, when there is a conflict between Smṛiti and Purāna the former prevails.

¹ Jolly's Tagore Law Lectures on Partition and Adoption (1883) 32.

² Bühler's Manu, Introduction, CX, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV

ĀCHĀRA OR USAGE.

The word Āchāra is derived from the root *char* to walk, to conduct oneself, and is used in 'the general sense of acting.'¹ Āchāra, Charana, Charitra and Sila are convertible terms.²

As regards the authority of Āchāra, we often hear it urged by those who are disposed to maintain existing institutions which have no sanction in the Śruti and Smṛiti that custom overrides the written law and they quote as an authority the familiar maxim “शास्त्राद्विर्लीयसी” —usage is stronger than the Śāstra. I have not found this maxim used by the authors of the Smṛitis, Manu, Yājñavalkya and other known law-givers in considering the efficacy of conduct. The maxim, I think, expresses in different words the rule of grammar which says that *व्युत्पत्त्यद्वयं*, popular usage overpowers etymological meaning, and has nothing to do with custom as an authority for a rule of conduct not sanctioned by the Śāstra.

Jaimini in his *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* denies to local customs any authority as a source of law independently of the Śruti and Smṛiti. He rejects the idea of reasonableness and adjustment and the only test which he prescribes as to the lawfulness of a particular act or conduct is whether it is justified by a scriptural statement. On this point the following observations of Sir Henry Maine may be appropriately quoted.

“The theory upon which these schools of learned men (*i.e.*, Brahmanas) worked, from the ancient, Āpastamba and Gautama to the late Manu and the still later Nārada, is perhaps still held by some persons of earnest religious convictions, but in time now buried it affected every walk of thought. The fundamental assumption is, that a sacred or inspired literature being once believed to exist, all knowledge is contained in it. The Hindu way of putting it was, and is, not simply that the Scripture is true, but that everything which is true is contained in the Scripture. From very early times, the Hindu doctors appear to have been conscious of difficulties in the interpretation or application of their theory. Sometimes books of authority contradicted one another. Sometimes they failed to supply a basis for received doctrines or for immemorial religious practice. One of the earliest of expedients was to suppose the loss of passages in the most ancient portion of the Scriptures. ‘If you ask,’ says Āpastamba, ‘why the decision of the Aryas presupposes the existence of a Vedic passage, then I answer, all precepts were originally taught in the Brahmanas, but these texts have been lost. Their

¹ The word Āchāra is sometimes used in the narrow sense of observance of the rites and ceremonies prescribed by sacred texts.

² Sankarāchāryas Bhāṣhya on the Vedānta Sūtras, CH III, P. I, Sūtras 9, 20, 21.

'former existence may, however, be inferred from usage. It is not, however, permissible to infer the former existence of a Vedic passage where pleasure is obtained by following the custom ; he who follows such usage becomes fit for Hell.' ”¹

To pass on to a more detailed examination of the authorities on the subject :—

Āchāra is defined in the Institutes of Manu (Ch. II, 18) as follows :—

“ The custom handed down in regular succession (since time immemorial) among the (four chief) castes (Varna) and the mixed (races) of that country, (Brahmhāvarta and Brahmarāi Deśa) is called the conduct of virtuous men.”²

This text should be read with the tenth verse of the same chapter which declares :—

“ But by Śruti (revelation) is meant the Veda and by Smṛiti (tradition) the Institutes of the sacred law ; those two must not be called into question in any matter, since from those two the sacred law shone forth.”

The latter of the two texts quoted above clearly indicates that a custom which is opposed to Śruti and Smṛiti cannot be valid. The same inference arises from Manu, Chapter I, verses 107, 108, 109 and 110³

Kulluka also puts the same construction upon the last mentioned text and says that custom which is opposed to Smṛiti should be rejected.

In the Chapter (VIII) on civil and criminal law, custom is again referred to by the author of Manu's Code in verses 41, 42 and 46, but not as a positive and recognised source of Dharma, but only as an element to be considered by the king in declaring the law. The commentators also interpret the words “ the laws of castes of districts, of guilds and of families ” to mean law not opposed to the Veda.

When we turn to Yājñavalkya⁴ the same conclusion is arrived at, namely, that custom, to be valid, should not be antagonistic to Śruti

¹ Early Law and Customs, Ch. I. pp. 16-17.

² तस्मिन् देशे य आचारः पारंपर्यक्रमागतः । वर्णानां सांतरालानां स सदाचार उच्यते ॥ १८ ॥ श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः । ते सर्वार्थेभ्यमीमांस्ये ताभ्यां धर्मो हि निर्बभौ ॥ १० ॥ म० अ० २.

³ Medhātithi divides Smṛiti (tradition) into written and unwritten. What is written goes by the name Smṛiti and what is not written by the name Āchāra. Both are the remembrances of the revealed law and, therefore, authoritative.

⁴ यस्मिन् देशे य आचारो व्यवहारः कुलस्थितिः । तथैव परिपाल्योऽसौ यदा वक्ष्यमुपागतः ॥ टीका । यदि अज्ञविद्वदो न भवति. Ch. I., 343.

and Smṛiti. Likewise, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha and Āpastamba teach the same doctrine.

"The laws of countries, castes and families which are not opposed to the (sacred) records have also authority. (Gautama XI, 20.)

"Whether in matters connected with this or the next world, in both cases, the Dharmas inculcated by the Śāstras are to be observed where there is an omission in the Śāstras, their approved custom is the authority. Manu has declared that the (peculiar) laws of countries, castes, and families (may be followed) in the absence of (rules of) the revealed texts. Vasiṣṭha, Ch. I.

"The authority for acts productive of merit which form part of the customs of daily life is the agreement of those who know the law, (and the authorities for the latter are) the Vedas alone. Āpastamba, Ch. 1, P. I. K. 1.

"As Smṛiti is not to be accepted when it is opposed to the Vedas, so custom is not to be respected, when it is at variance with a Smṛiti." A Smṛiti quoted in the Prayoga-pariśat.

"Those that wish to know what Dharmas are, for them the Vedas are the highest authority, the Smṛiti the second and what is accepted by society¹ (or the world) the third." (Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana-Parva).

"Where there are no direct sanctions or prohibitions laid down in the Veda or Smṛiti, the Dharmas are to be ascertained from an observation of the custom of the country and of the family." (Skanda-Purāna.)

The gist of the foregoing texts may be shortly stated thus in the words of Medhātithi. Āchāra as used in Manu and the other Smṛitis means the practice followed as a duty by Śiṣṭas—virtuous men conversant with the Vedas—in cases where there are no Śruti or Smṛiti texts to the contrary.

¹ The text is लोकसंग्रहः which is another word for सदाचारः

The Roman law defined custom thus:—"When certain persons have by common consent purposely followed a certain rule, and have, whether by acts or forbearances (*consuetudo affirmativa, negativa*), recognised such rule as binding upon them, there arises from this common will so evidenced a law which obliges every individual who can be reckoned as one of these persons, provided the custom be not unreasonable and provided also it relates to those matters to which the written law does not apply (*consuetudo constitutio*). Customs which are opposed to written law (*correctoria derogatoria*) are held by Roman Jurists to be invalid, unless they have been specially confirmed by the supreme power of the State or have existed immemorially; and it is immaterial whether they consist in a mere non-observance of the written law (*desuetudo*), or in the observance of new principles opposed to such law (*consuetudines abrogatoria*); and it is also immaterial whether the customs have or have not been confirmed by judicial decision (Lindley on Jurisprudence).

On the other hand, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Nārada, Brihaspati and Kātyāyana would seem to place custom higher than Śāstra.

Āśvalāyana in his Grihya-Sutras when describing the marriage ritual says :¹—

“Now various indeed are the customs of the (different) countries and the customs of the (different) villages : those one should observe at the wedding.”

“What, however, is commonly accepted that we shall state.”

This passage, I do not think, can be taken as recognising usage contray to the Śāstras as a source of Dharma. It has reference to a particular ceremony and permits the observance of practices of an indifferent character prevailing in different localities. Medhātithi in his commentary on Manu's Chapter II, verse 6, gives instances of such practices one of which is the tying of a yellow ribbon round the wrist as a sign of auspiciousness at marriages.

As regards Baudhāyana² it is enough to note that in considering the validity of customs he begins by stating that there is a dispute regarding certain five practices in the south and in the north, and concludes by admitting that his own view that they may be observed by the people of the country where they prevail is contrary to the law laid down by Gautama.³

The texts of Nārada, Brihaspati and Kātyāyana on the subject of custom have been considered by Mādhavāchārya; in the opening section of his work on Vyavahāra where he discusses the characteristics of a law-suit as defined by those sages. The texts that are relevant here are those which divide law-suits into four classes according to the nature of the procedure followed in determining the question at issue. This procedure is described as having four feet. Thus Nārada says :—

धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम् । चतुष्पाद्व्यवहारोऽयं उत्तरः पूर्वं बाधकः ॥

Professor Jolly translates this thus :

Virtue, a judicial proceeding, documentary evidence, and an edict from the king are the four feet of a law-suit. Each following one is superior to the one previously named. The word चरित्रम् is rendered by the translator into “documentary evidence on the authority of Asahāya, the commentator on Nārada. But he points out that other commentators explain the term Charitra in conformity with the text

¹ Adhyaya I, Kandika VII, Sutras 1 and 2.

² Baudhayana, Prasna I, Adhyaya I, Kandika II, Texts 1-6.

³ Gautama XI, 20.

of Brihaspati, namely " Whatever is practised by a man, proper or improper, in accordance with local usage is termed Charitra, Custom.¹"

Brihaspati describes the four parts of a law-suit thus :—

पूवः पक्षः स्मृतः पादोद्वितीयश्चोत्तरः स्मृतः ।

क्रिया पादस्तृतीयस्तु चतुर्थो निर्णयः स्मृतः ॥

Translation :—The plaint is called the first part ; answer is the second part ; the trial is the third part ; and the judgment is the fourth part.

Brihaspati describes the fourth part, namely the judgment as four-fold according to the means by which it is arrived at.

धर्मेण व्यवहारेण चरित्रेण नृपाज्ञया । चतुष्प्रकारोऽभिहितः संधिगधेऽर्थे विनिर्णयः ॥

Translation :—The judgment in a doubtful matter is declared to be of four sorts, according as it is based, on moral law, or on the issue of the case or on custom or on an edict from the king" (Brihaspati Ch. II, 18.)

शास्त्रमेव समाश्रित्य क्रियते यत्र निर्णयः ।

व्यवहारः स विज्ञेयो धर्मस्तेनापनीयते ॥

देशस्थित्यानुमानेन नैगमानुमतेन च ।

क्रियते निर्णयस्तत्र व्यवहारस्तु बाध्यते ॥

विहाय चरिताचारं यत्र कुर्यात् पुनर्नृपः ।

निर्णयं सा तु राजाज्ञा चरित्रं बाध्यते तया ॥

Translation :—"When a sentence is passed exclusively according to the letter of the law, it should be considered as (a decision based on) the issue of the case. Moral law is overruled by it.

"When a decision is passed in accordance with local custom, logic, or the opinion of the traders (living in that town) the issue of the case is overruled by it.

"Where the king, disregarding established usage, passes sentence (according to his own inclination), it is (called) an edict from the king and local custom is overruled by it."

The texts quoted from Kātyāyana are :—

दोषकारी तु कर्तृत्वं धनस्वामी स्वकं धनम् । विवादे प्राप्नुयाद्यत्र स धर्मेणैव निर्णयः ॥
स्मृतिशास्त्रं तु यत्किञ्चित्प्रथितं धर्मसाधकैः । कार्याणां निर्णयाद्देतोः व्यवहारः स्मृतोहि सः ।
यद्यदाचर्यते येन धर्म्यं बाध्यम्यमेव वा । देशस्याचरणं नित्यं चरित्रं तद्विकीर्तितम् ॥
न्यायशास्त्रविरोधेन देशदृष्टैस्तथैव च । यद्धर्मं स्थापयेद्राजा न्याय्यं तद्राजशासनम् ॥

¹ S. B. E. Vol. XXXIII, 285.

² Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXIII, 7.

³ Brihaspati, Ch II, 25, 26 27, S. B. E. Vol. XXXIII. pp. 286, 287.

Freely translated these texts mean that, when a judgment is passed on the the admission of the defendant who, in obedience to the moral law, confesses his guilt or pays the plaintiff what is due to him, that judgment is judgment passed according to the moral law; when in the presence of both parties the Dharma Śāstra is propounded by competent and learned judges and judgment is pronounced in accordance therewith, that is termed a judgment on the issue in the case; whatever is practised by one as obligatory by custom, whether the same is sanctioned by the sacred law or not, that is called *Charitra*, and a judgment given in accordance therewith is termed a judgment based on custom; lastly that is called a judgment by an edict of the king which is passed in conformity with what the king declares to be lawful setting aside both the Nyāya Śāstra and usage.

Mādhvacharya next quotes the text of Brihaspati declaring that a judgment passed according to the letter of the law overrules the moral law; that a judgment based on usage overrules the written law and that a judgment by the edict of the king overrules local custom.

Nārada and Brihaspati further declare :—

“ When it is impossible to act up to the precepts of the sacred law, it becomes necessary to adopt a method founded on reasoning, because evidence (व्यवहारः) in a law-suit has priority over the law” (i.e. Dharma¹).

“ Holy law has a subtle nature, and is occult and difficult to understand. Therefore (the king) must try causes according to the visible path.” (Nārada, Ch. I, 40, 41.)

“ The judgment in a doubtful matter is declared to be of four sorts, according as it is based on moral law, or on the issue of the case or on custom or on an edict from the king.”²

“ The time-honoured Institutions of each country, caste and family should be preserved intact; otherwise the people would rise in rebellion; the subjects would become disaffected towards their rulers and the army and treasure would be destroyed. (Brihaspati, Ch. II, 18, 28.)³

The above texts possess a peculiar interest to the jurist as showing the stages through which juridical thought in its growth passed among the ancient law-givers of India in spite of the theory of the divine origin of law. They not only give a high place to approved

¹ धर्मशास्त्रविरोधेतु युक्तियुक्तो विधिः स्मृतः । व्यवहारो हि बलवान् धर्मस्तेनावही-
यते ॥

² धर्मेण व्यवहारेण चरित्रेण नृपाज्ञया । चतुष्पकारोऽभिहितः संदिग्धेऽर्थे विनिर्णयः ॥

³ ब्रह्मदाचरते येन धर्म्यं वाऽधर्म्यमेव वा देशास्याचरणं नित्यं चरित्रं तद्विकीर्तितम् ॥

usages introduced in supercession of Smṛiti texts but also clothe the king with power to modify both written law and usage where he should consider it right to do so. As instances of local usage, contrary to the texts of the sacred law, Brihaspati¹ refers to certain practices prevailing in the South, in the central country, in the East, in the North and in Khasa and concludes by saying "thus has legal procedure with its manifold ramifications been represented by the sages."

Mādhavācharya also refers to two customs among others, the first of which permits a man in the Karnātak to marry a daughter of his maternal uncle or of his paternal aunt and the second which permits the marriage of a girl after the age of purbety in the country of Kerala. He further states that these local customs are found embodied in document and other royal decrees published in the countries concerned.

Thus stands the state of original authorities as to the force of usage. However great the veneration attached to the names of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Gautama and other earlier law-givers the broader views of Nārada, Brihaspati and Kātyāyana as to the sources of law could not but impress their successors. It can be safely presumed that the boldness exhibited by Vijñānesvara, Jimūtavāhana, Vāchaspati-Miśra, Mitra-Miśra and Mādhavācharya in not strictly adhering to the theory of the divine origin of law was due to the influence which the Institutes of Nārada, Brihaspati and Kātyāyana must have exercised on the minds of those whose function it was in later times to propound the law and administer justice.

The skill with which Vijñānesvara found his way through the meshes of the divine origin theory and familiarised the Hindu mind with the distinction between religious and secular law is worthy of all praise. In his commentary on the texts of Yājñavalkya relating to the impartibility of a man's self-acquired property Vijñāneswara says in the clearest terms that, the rules laid down by Yājñavalkya on the subject of Vyavahāra are based upon popular customs.² It was he who among the earlier commentators had the freedom of thought and boldness of spirit to advocate, in matters of civil rights, adherence to the principle "practise not that which though legal is disapproved by public opinion".³

¹ Brihaspati, Ch. II. v. 27, 30, 3, 132. S. B. E. Vol. XXXIII, p. 287.

² लोकसिद्धस्यैवानुवादकान्येव प्रायेणास्मिन्प्रकरणे वचनानि.

The Panchayat Courts which preceded the British Courts of Justice guided themselves almost entirely by customary law.

³ कर्मणा मनसा वाचा यत्नाद्धर्मं समाचरेत् । अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्ममप्याचरेत् तु ॥ Yājñavalkya, Ch. I, v. 136.

It is a matter for regret that the later commentators perhaps with one or two exceptions were not men of the same robustness of thought as Vijñāneshwara and Jīmutavāhana and the principle of progressive interpretation of the laws introduced by the latter was not carried further. Devānanda Bhatta, the writer of the *Smṛiti-Chandrikā*, and Mādhavāchārya, the commentator on the *Parāśara Smṛiti*, who respectively belong to the 13th and 14th centuries after Christ may be mentioned among the most celebrated authors that succeeded Vijñāneśvara and Jīmutavāhana. I suppose that both of them, and particularly the great Mādhavāchārya, are responsible to a large extent for the illiberal spirit which at present prevails in Hindu society and impedes its advance.

The *Smṛiti-Chandrikā* has, according to Dr. Jolly, a whole chapter on *Deśa-Dharma*, in which the author is stated to have maintained that those usages only shall be recognised which are not opposed to the teaching of the *Vedas* and other authoritative books.¹

As regards Mādhavāchārya, he is a puzzle. He is in places so inconsistent that it is difficult to follow him. In his *Jaiminiya-Nyāyamālā-Vistāra* he does not concede to Āchāra any authority apart from the *Śruti* and *Smṛiti*. He there observes:— It cannot be argued that as both the *Smṛitis* and *Āchāra* are derived from the *Veda*, they are therefore of equal authority. From the practice of virtuous men a *Smṛiti* only may be inferred and not a *Śruti*. Therefore the authority of *Āchāra* is remote by two degrees from that of the *Vedas*.² In the *Vyavahāra-Kanda*, however, he adopts the view of Nārada, Brihaspati and Kātyāyana and approves of usages clearly derogatory of the *Smṛitis*.

In his introduction to the commentary on *Parāśara Smṛiti* he calls himself the patron³ of the *Purāṇik* system and gives the *Purāṇas* a prominence which they previously did not enjoy and supports by his high authority the texts of the *Purāṇas* which say that "the wise" have abolished certain practices as unsuitable to the *Kali* age. These prohibited practices include sea-voyage, the remarriage of widows and many other useful customs sanctioned by *Manu*, *Parāśara* and other law-givers.

One would have expected from a commentator of the position and learning of Mādhavāchārya some explanation as to who the wise that

¹ Dr. Jolly's *Tagore Law Lectures on Partition and Adoption* (1883), p. 35.

² आचारस्तु स्मृतिं ज्ञात्वा स्मृते श्रुतिकल्पनम् । तेन व्यतिरिक्तं तेषां प्रामाण्य-
विप्रकृष्यते ॥

³ The original is सकल पुराण संहिता प्रवर्तकः which literally means the promoter of the collection or compilation of all the *Purāṇas*.

abolished these practices were, and why and when they abolished them. But he is totally silent on these points. What is most strange is that he has recognised Purāṇik texts as authorities superior to the precepts of the Smritis!

Before closing this part of our subject, I may, I think, draw a comparison between the lines on which the development of law proceeded in Greece and in Aryāvarta. In his *Ancient Law* Sir Henry Maine makes mention of what in Greece were called Themistes, the sentences or orders of Zeus as having preceded the conception of law. These Themistes, we may take, filled the same place among the Greeks as the Śrutis did among the Indian Aryās. The transition from the Themistes in Greece was, first, to various established customs which the Themistes were believed to sanctify and then to written codes; while among the Indian Aryās the Smritis or the codes followed the Śrutis and Āchāra or custom followed the Smritis, both the Smritis and Āchāra being regarded as based on the sacred authority of the Śrutis.¹ Overtopping all these three sources of law, Śrutis, Smritis and customs, came the edict of the king of the law prescribed by the supreme power in the State. Thus although there is a close analogy between the ideas as to the origin of law in the West and East their progressive development in India was checked by various causes an enquiry into which must be reserved for another more appropriate occasion.

THE PARĀŚARA DHARMA SAMHITĀ.

Starting with a definition of *Dharma* I have so far considered its sources or proofs, their nature, origin and relative authoritativeness on questions of duty.

Now I pass on to the main theme of my discourse—the Institutes of the great Rishi—Parāśara. His authority as a lawgiver of the Āryas is unquestionable. He fills a prominent place in the rank of the well-known sages of ancient times. He is described in the Rigveda as the son of Vaśiṣṭha and Śakti. He is the seer of hymns 65-73, Book I of the same Veda. His name occurs in the Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini. He is one of the twenty Rishis named in the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti as Śāstra-Prayojakas or law-givers. He figures prominently in the Mahābhārata, Vishnu Purāṇa and other sacred books of the Indian Āryās. He is one of the fifty-three Rishis who formed part of the

¹ The view now generally received is that the Smritis are a record of usages which prevailed in different localities at different periods. The late Sir Henry Maine in his *Early Law and Custom* says: "Indian law may, in fact, be affirmed to consist of a very great number of local bodies of usage, and of one set of customs reduced to writing, pretending to a divine authority than the rest, exercising consequently a great influence over them and tending, if not checked, to absorb them."

august assembly in which the great Bhishma instructed Yudhishthira in the science of Government (Mahābhārata, Shānti Parva, Ch. 47). It is under the circumstances needless to enlarge upon the authority of Parāśara as a law-giver.¹

The Parāśara Samhita almost exclusively deals with two heads of Dharma, namely, *Achāra* (rules of conduct) and *Prāyaschitta* (penances). On civil law (*Vyavahāra*) it lays down only the following general rules for the guidance of kings :—

“ A king of the Kshatriya caste should arm himself and have his army ; should protect his people ; should overcome the forces of a hostile king and rule the State in the way prescribed by law. (Ch. I, v. 61.)

“ Where such members of the regenerate caste, as are irreligious and illiterate, subsist on alms begged from house to house :—That village should be punished by the king ; for the village is a feeder of thieves alone.” (Ch. I, v. 61.)

“ A garland maker gathers flowers only without cutting (the plants) in the garden by their roots. (So also the king should raise taxes.) He should not oppress his subjects in the manner in which a charcoal maker uproots the trees.” (Ch. I, v. 63.)

“ The penance (for a sin) should be prescribed (by a Parishad) with the approval of the king ; it should never be prescribed independently of the king ; but where the penance is trifling, it may be carried out (without such approval). (VIII, 28.)

“ If the king intends to lay down the law, disregarding what the Brahmanas say,—the sin is multiplied a hundredfold, and, so increased, affects the king.” (VIII, 29.)

The importance of the Parāśara Smṛiti rests on the ground that it declares the law for the Kali age. This special authority of Parāśara

¹ There are two astronomical treatises by Parāśara extant. “ Parāśara is reputed to be the oldest Indian Astronomer. . . . The name of Parāśara as well as that of Garga belongs only to the latest stage of Vedic literature, to the Āranyakas and the Sūtras ; in the earlier works neither of the two names is mentioned. The family of the Parāśaras is represented with particular frequency in the later members of the Vansas of the Śatapatha Brahmana : a Garga and a Parāśara are also named in the Anukramani as Rishis of several hymns of the Rik, and another Parāśara appears in Panini as author of the Bhikṣu Sūtra, i.e., a compendium for religious mendicants. The Parāśarino-bhikṣahavah are mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya also, and besides a Kalpa by Parāśara. Weber's History of Indian Literature (Third Edition), pages 212 and 243.

² The edition published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the Bibliotheca Indica Series contains the following additional verse : “ Royalty depends not on hereditary right ; nor can it be transmitted by written deeds. It should be enjoyed after acquisition by means of the word ; the earth is enjoyed by heroes.”

is mentioned in verse 25, Chapter I of the Smṛiti itself. It runs as follows :—

For the Kṛita age are suited the laws of Manu ; for the Tretā, those of Gautama (are) prescribed ; for the Dvāpara, those by Śāṅkha-Likhita ; for the Kali, those by Parāśara are prescribed.

The theory on which the doctrine that each Yuga has its peculiar laws is explained as follows. The world passes through four Yugas or cycles called Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali. It has already passed through the first three and it is now passing through the fourth. In the first Yuga, which is otherwise called the age of truth or Brāhmanas, *Dharma* reigned supreme "in all its four parts" without any diminution; men performed their duties faithfully according to the Vedas and truth and righteousness thrived in their full perfection. As each succeeding Yuga set in, *Dharma* diminished by one-fourth with a proportionate decay in truth and virtue until at last in the present Kali-Yuga there is only a fourth part of *Dharma* left and men have become devoid of that strength of character which is required for the faithful performance of their religious, moral and worldly duties according to the ancient Śāstras. In the Kṛita Yuga the laws of Manu prevailed ; but the gradual diminution in the observance of *Dharma* having rendered a diminution in the rigour of the laws necessary, Gautama legislated for the Tretā Yuga, Śāṅkha and Likhita for the Dvāpara and Parāśara for the Kali. Accordingly, the laws of Gautama are supposed to be mild compared with those of Manu, the laws of Śāṅkha and Likhita milder and those of Parāśara the mildest.

This topsyturvy policy of legislation may provoke a smile. But we should remember that our ancient legislators chiefly dealt with religion and ritual, a department in which freedom of thought is always looked upon by the orthodox as a sign of moral decline and lawlessness ; and I think that in their anxiety to protect the Sanātana *Dharma* our sages must have adopted an elastic policy of adjustment that could be followed without much social friction.

The commentators on the Codes of Manu, Yājñavalkya and Gautama not only do not draw any such distinction as that indicated by the theory noticed above, but further when we read Manu we find that he has taken into consideration the state of society in all the four Yugas in enacting his laws (Manu I, 81-86).

Professor Max Müller has characterised the theory as a fabricated tradition. This seems to me too strong language to apply to a belief universally entertained. Assuming that the belief has not a well

defined basis in practice, it has still a merit of its own which should not make us very particular about its origin ; for on a comparison of the Parāśara Smṛiti with those of Manu, Gautama, Sāṅkha, Likhita and others we do find in Parāśara's legislation ideas of a decidedly progressive character from a social point of view. I propose to briefly notice below what, in my opinion, may be considered important changes made by Parāśara in the older law.

First :—Parāśara has largely pruned the Grihya and Smārta ritual of a large number of its ceremonial and sacramental rites. This he has done in what seems to me to be a commendable manner. He has silently passed over what are called the *Ātrama¹ Dharmas*, i.e., the complicated, cumbrous and elaborate system of ritual and sacraments which fettered social life, insisting only upon what is essential for the preservation of the pure Vedic faith. In laying down the duties peculiar to the twice born, he makes no mention of the long series of *samskāras* or sacraments prescribed by his predecessors, although in another connection, which will be noticed hereafter, he refers to them passingly as desirable for the fullest development of a Brāhmana's inherent virtue (VIII, 19). The six duties he prescribes to the Brāhmanas proceed upon a line different from that adopted by the previous law-givers. He lays them down in the following terms :—

“A Brahmana who is given to observe the six² duties of his caste who worships the deities and hospitably receives the guests, whose meals consist of what remains after (daily) offerings made (on the fire), has never to suffer from misery or want. Ablution and prayer, inaudible recitation (of sacred words), burnt-offerings, the worship of gods, hospitality to guest unexpectedly come, and offerings made in the name of the Viśvadevas, these are six duties to be performed every day.” I, 38, 39.

The duty denoted by the word prayer points to the Gāyatri hymn which is regarded as the essence of the Vedas and the initiation into

¹ Mādhavāchārya in his commentary has added at the end of chapter II a description of the Samakāras (sacraments) under the heading of *Ātrama Dharmas*, stating that although following the method of the other Smṛitis, it was proper that Parāśara should have declared the *Ātrama Dharmas* after having declared the *Varna Dharmas*; yet he neglected them, as no question had been asked by Vyāsa regarding them. I think the omission may have been due to one of these two causes, namely, 1st, that Parāśara considered the enforcement of the Samakāra rites and of the Brahmacharya, Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa Āśramas according to the old ritual as undesirable, and, 2ndly, that they had already to a great extent gone out of practice and Parāśara did not deem it necessary to revive them.

² According to Mādhavāchārya the words “six duties” here mean those six duties which Manu and other older law-givers assign to Brāhmanas, viz., teaching and studying the Veda; sacrificing for their own benefit and for others; giving and accepting of alms. I do not think this interpretation correct. Parāśara has not left the point in doubt. He enumerates the six duties in the immediately following text.

which is a solutely necessary to invest a man with the character of a Dwija.¹

It will be observed that the above enumeration does not include teaching the Veda, officiating at sacrifices performed for others and accepting alms. On the exclusion of mendicancy from the duties of a Brāhmana Parāśara is very strict and emphatic; for he declares, 1st, that "where such members of the regenerate caste as are irreligious and illiterate subsist on alms begged from house to house, that village should be punished by the king; for the village is a feeder of thieves alone" (I, 66); and, secondly, "with the paddy from a field cultivated by himself or acquired by his own self-exertions he (the Brāhmana) should offer the five daily sacrifices and others." (II, 6.).

With regard to the study of the Vedas and the student's duties Parāśara's rules are more indulgent than those prescribed by Manu and other law-givers. Manu says, for example, that "the vow of studying the three Vedas under a teacher must be kept for thirty-six years, or for half that time or for a quarter, or until the student has perfectly learnt them. He further, as a mitigation of the severity of the above rule, declares:—"A student who has studied in due order the three Vedas or two or even one only without breaking the rules of studentship shall enter the order of house-holders". Parāśara does not make a studentship of this sort obligatory on the Aryan youth. For the ordinary Brāhmana a knowledge of the Gāyatri, the Sandhya prayers and the great five² daily Yajnyas is all that he considers necessary.

In prescribing however the qualifications of Brāhmanas who should be appointed members of a Parishad Parāśara is very strict. He declares that they should be men possessed of a competent knowledge of the Vedas and Śāstras (VI. 35. VIII, 2, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14.)

In the case of an ordinary Brāhmana, on the other hand, he is very lenient on this point of the study of the Vedic science. After declaring

¹ Chapter VIII. 3, 24.

² अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तुतर्पणम् । होमोदैवो बलिर्भौतोनृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम्॥
म० अ० ४, श्लो० २१॥ अध्यापन शब्देन अध्ययनमपि एव्यते, इतिकुल्लुः ।

Teaching (and studying) is the sacrifice offered to Brāhmana, the (offering of water and food called) Tarpana, the sacrifice to the manes, the burnt oblation the sacrifice offered to the gods, the Bali offering that offered to the Bhutas, and the hospitable reception of guests the offering to men. Manu III, 70.

बलिकर्मस्वधा होमस्वाध्यायातिथिसत्क्रियाः । भूतपित्रपरब्रह्ममनुध्यागामहा
मन्त्राः ॥ बलिकर्म भूतयज्ञः । स्वधा पितृयज्ञः । होमो देवयज्ञः । स्वाध्यायो ब्रह्मयज्ञः ।
अतिथिसत्क्रिया मनुष्ययज्ञः । एतेपञ्चमहायज्ञा अहरहः कर्तव्याः ॥ Yajñavalkyat
Ch. 3, Text 322.

in general words that those who do not cherish the house-hold fire, who are devoid of the daily conjunctional adorations and who do not study the Veda should be regarded as Śūdras, the great Rishi proceeds to provide :—

“Therefore for fear of being turned into a Śūdra every endeavour should be made particularly by a Brāhmana to study at least a portion of the Veda (every day) in case he is unable to study the whole.” (XII. 31, 32.).

The next great reform introduced by Parāśara is closely connected with the above in logical sequence. We may, I think, call him the apostle of Industrialism among Brahmanas. He seems to have taken to heart the moral and economical loss to society arising from a state of things which made the Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas an unproductive charge upon the common wealth, and encouraged a waste of resources in the observance of costly ceremonies and sacrifices not forming an essential part of the national Vedic faith. He accordingly attached greater importance to industrialism than to knowledge connected with ritualistic and sacrificial observances. In the matter of industrial pursuits, he largely departed from the line marked out by Manu and other Rishis and placed all the four castes on a footing of equality. In Chapter II, where he treats of their *Sādharma* na *Dharma*, or duties common to them all, he lays down :—

(a) “A Brāhmana who regularly performs the six ceremonies may also betake himself to agriculture.”

(b) “A Kshatriya likewise may practise tillage honouring the gods and the Brāhmana caste. A Vaishya or Sudra should always take to agriculture, practise arts and follow trade” (II, 2, 12.)¹

Mādhavāchārya interprets the first of the above verses as giving the Brāhmanas liberty only to have the work of cultivation done by employing men of the lower caste and not to personally engage in ploughing. This interpretation, however, is contrary to the intention of the verse as shown by the context. Mādhavāchārya's interpretation is based upon the casual form of the verb कर्तव्यत् in the text. But in some copies the verb used is समाचरेत् I have in my possession a copy

Madhavacharya's commentary on this text runs as follows :—

विप्रत्येति कर्तव्यां कृषिमुक्त्वा वर्णान्तराणामपि तामाह ॥ क्षत्रिय इति । यद्यपि वैश्यस्य कृषिः पूर्वाध्याये विहिता तथाप्यत्र इतिकर्तव्यता विधानाय पुनरुपन्यासः ‘तथा कुर्यात्’ इत्यतिदेशेन ब्राह्मणस्य कृषौ विहितेति कर्तव्यता सर्वाऽप्यत्र विहितायवति कृषिवत् वाणिज्यशिल्पशोरपि कलौ वर्णचतुष्टयसाधारण्यं दर्शयितुं “वाणिज्यशिल्पकम्” इत्युक्तम् । इति ॥

of an edition of the Parāśara Smṛiti with a short commentary published at Lucknow in the Samvat year 1943-44. The verb used therein is समाचरेत्, and the commentator, whose name is given at the end as Dharanidhar, says that the prohibition against a Brāhmana's personally engaging in cultivation of land applies to the preceding Yugas.¹ It is noteworthy that Parāśara praises the gift of land to Brāhmanas as highly meritorious (XII, 49).

CASTE.

The third improvement which Parāśara directed his attention to was to raise the status of the Śūdra. It has already been pointed out that, as far as agriculture and trade were concerned, Parāśara placed all the four castes on a footing of equality. As regards social intercourse and intermarriages, although his legislation is not equally liberal, still he has shown a strong inclination towards bettering the lot of the Śūdras. In matters of food, interdining between the three higher castes was never prohibited, and Parāśara also allows it. XI, 12.

Manu prohibited the Brāhmanas from eating cooked food given by a Śūdra. The only exception he made was in the case of the Brāhmana's labourer in tillage, a friend of his family, his cow-herd, his slave, and his barber. Food given by these the Brāhmana was permitted to eat. (Manu IV, 223, 253).

Parāśara has followed the same rule but with a slight relaxation of the restriction against the use of cooked food given by a Śūdra. He declares that "when a Śūdra gives a feast, a Brāhmana may eat any food cooked in some oily substance, provided he goes to the bank of a river to eat it. This is certainly an improvement. The condition as to place is obviously immaterial.

Mr. Baden-Powell in his book on the Indian Village Community observes that both the Brāhmana and Kshatriya castes from the first had the least possible connection with agriculture except as over lords of the soil and receivers of shares in the produce. As the result of his investigation he further states: "It may be safely asserted that all the upper classes of Aryan origin had little feeling for agriculture and that India does not owe to them either the introduction of settled cultivation or (directly) any particular policy or principle of land-ownership." This conclusion is far from correct.

¹ Manu—By practising handicrafts, by pecuniary transactions, by begetting children on Śūdra females only, by (trading in) cows, horses and carriages, by (the pursuit of) agriculture and by taking service under a king families sink low. III, 64. But a Brāhmana or a Kshatriya living by a Vaiya's mode of subsistence shall carefully avoid (the pursuit of) agriculture which causes injury to many beings and depends on others. Some declare that agriculture is something excellent, but that means of subsistence is blamed by the virtuous; for the wooden implement with iron point injures the earth and the beings living in the earth. X, 83, 84.

Gautama—Agriculture and trade are also lawful for a Brāhmana, provided he does not do the work himself. Likewise, lending money at interest. X, 4, 6.

. As indicating a desire on Parāśara's part to raise the position of the Śudras and drawing the social relations between them and the higher castes closer, attention may be drawn to the following rules :—

"If a Śudra be addicted to flesh—meat, spirituous drinks and constantly engaged in low occupations, he, like the member of a Svapaka caste, should be shunned by a Brāhmana from afar.

"A Brāhmana should never shun such Śudras as are employed in the service of regenerate men, abstinent of spirit and flesh-meat and duly employed in their own occupation." XI, 14, 15.

The prohibition against a Sudra pursuing degrading occupations, such as selling wine and flesh-meat and using such things as drink and food, can have no other object than that of enforcing purity of conduct on their part as a means of raising them in the social scale.

THE POSITION OF WOMAN.

It cannot be said that Parāśara made any material change in the old law respecting the position of woman. Two questions have for some years past occupied the minds of Hindu social reformers concerning women ; 1st, the marriageable age of girls, 2ndly, the re-marriage of widows. On the first, Parāśara's legislation is as strict as that of his predecessors. He fixes the age of 12 years for a girl as the farthest limit for marriage, and enforces this limit strictly. (VII, 41, 5, 6, 7.) Manu, after declaring that "Reprehensible is the father who gives not his daughter in marriage at the proper time," says "that a man aged thirty years shall marry a maiden of twelve, who pleases him, or a man of twenty-four a girl of eight years of age, if the performance of his duties would otherwise be impeded, he must marry sooner." The words "proper time" in the former text are interpreted by Kulluka to mean "before the girl attains the age of puberty" according to Gautama (XVIII, 21), and as regards the latter text the same commentator says that the verse is not intended to lay down a hard and fast rule, but merely to give instances of suitable ages. However that may be, there are other texts in Manu which show that he did not consider that the marriage of a girl performed after the age of puberty would be invalid (Manu IX, 89, 90, 91). From this point of view Parāśara's rules would seem to be unduly harsh.

In the Sutta Nipata there is a discourse between a Brāhmana called Kaṁbharadvaja and Gautama, from which it appears that Brāhmanas practised agriculture before the time of Gautama. Gautama going to Kaṁbharadvaja is addressed thus — I, O, Samana, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown I eat, thou also, O, Samana, shouldst plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown thou shouldst eat." S B E. Vol X. Sutta—Nipata, p. 12. Professor Hopkins of the Yale University in his work on 'India Old and New' has given a brief, but very instructive, sketch of the Aryan literature on the subject of agriculture in the chapter on Land Tenure in India. He has shown how mistaken Mr. Baden-Powell was in his view referred to above.

On the second question Parāśara has shown a greater sense of justice. He declares "When a woman's husband is missing or is dead, or has renounced the world, or is impotent or has been degraded by sin—on any of these five calamities befalling a woman, law has ordained another husband for her." This text has enabled the Hindu social reformers of the present day to wage a war against the tyrannous custom of debarring widows among the higher castes from marrying again. How the custom of the Hindu widows in the Dvija communities remaining unmarried came into existence it is not difficult to understand. What is most extraordinary is that, in the face of the above rule declared by Parāśara in the clearest words possible, texts are found in the Purāṇas and such other modern religious books declaring that a second marriage is not permitted to even virgin widows. Our surprise becomes greater when we remember that, the law declared by Parāśara was not new. Nārada had declared it before him in exactly the same words on the highest authority, namely, Manu, the first and greatest law-giver of the Āryās.¹

In this connection the provisions contained in verses 20, 21 and 22, Chapter IV, are of some importance. They strengthen by inference the legal status of sons begotten on a widow by marriage. These provisions mention expressly the Kunda, Golaka, Aurasa, Kshetrāja, and Kritrima sons. With what particular intention they are mentioned it is difficult to understand. The subject of sons is generally considered by other law-givers in the Chapters on inheritance and Śrāddha.

Neither of these topics is dealt with by Parāśara in the Chapter where the verses under notice occur. They, however, form part of a group of texts which deal with the duties of married woman towards her husband; and from this an inference may arise that Parāśara intended to point out that adultery in a married woman or widow leads to the introduction into the bosom of her husband's family children born of a stranger. Another view that suggests itself is that Parā-

¹ As bearing on the question of the remarriage of widows, it is proper that I should refer to the commentary of Asahāya on the following text of Nārada. "When it is impossible to act up to the precepts of sacred law, it becomes necessary to adopt a method founded on reasoning, because custom decides everything and overrules the sacred law." (Nārada, Ch. I, 40.) Dr. Jolly says, "According to Asahāya this verse inculcates the superiority of custom to written law. Thus both the practice of raising off-spring to a deceased or disabled brother, and the remarriage of widows are specially sanctioned in the sacred law books. Yet these two customs are opposed to established practice. Therefore subtle ratiocination is required. Asahāya quotes a verse to the effect that the immemorial usages of every province which have been handed down from generation to generation can never be overruled by a rule of the sacred law." (S. B. E. Vol. XXXIII, p. 15.)

With reference to this view of Asahāya, it is enough to state that it cannot have any force in the face of the text of Parāśara which expressly declares the law for the Kali age.

sara intended to give the Kunda, Golaka, Kshetrāja, Datta, Kritrima and others the same legal status in the Kali age as in the preceding Yugas. This latter view seems to us to be the more correct view to take of Parāśara's intention. Mādhavāchārya in his commentary says that the mention of the six kinds of sons should be taken in a general sense so as to include the twelve kinds of sons spoken of by Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Gautama and other Rishis. None of these sons except the *Aurasa* and adopted are now recognised.

As Parāśara is the law-giver for the present Kali age, the denial to the sons other than the *aurasa* and *dattaka* their former status would seem to be illegal. But Mādhavāchārya in his Vyavahāra Kānda, after fully describing the substitute sons and the way in which they take the heritage according to Manu, Yājñavalkya, Hārta and other Rishis, says —“The texts which go to prove that the other substitute sons besides the *datta* share in the inheritance, refer to some other age of the world ; because it is prohibited in another Smṛiti¹ to receive them as sons in the Kali age —The receiving of others than the *datta* and *aurasa* as sons, the begetting of offspring by a brother-in-law and retiring to the forest, all these practices, the wise have said, should be avoided in the Kali age.” The prohibitory texts quoted by Mādhavāchārya are to be found in the Institutes of Brihaspati and Āditya Purāṇa. In treating them as authority he forgets that Parāśara's legislation was specially intended for the Kali age and that it could not be superseded by even other Smṛitis and much less by Purāṇic texts. His treatment of this point cannot be accepted as satisfactory, because in another part of the same work he makes express provision for the shares to be allotted to sons of a man of a superior caste by a wife of an inferior caste in disregard of the prohibition contained in the Āditya Purāṇa against such intermarriages.

PENANCES.

The penances prescribed by Parāśara for sins are doubtless of a lenient character compared with those which the older law-givers prescribed, for instance, the penance for killing a cow prescribed by Manu requires the killer to perform certain acts of a painful nature for a period extending over three months. During the first month he shall drink a decoction of barley-grains, shave all his hair and covering himself with the hide (of the slain cow) he must live in a cow house. During the two following months he shall eat a small quantity of food without any factitious salt at every fourth-meal time and shall bathe in the urine of cows, keeping the organs under control. During the day he shall follow the cows and standing

¹ Brihaspati XXIV, V., 32-34

upright inhale the dust raised by their hoofs ; at night after serving and worshipping them he shall remain in the posture called Virāsana. He must stand when they stand, follow them when they walk and seat himself when they lie down. When a cow is sick or is threatened by danger from thieves, tigers and the like, or falls or sticks in a morass, he must relieve her by all possible means. In heat, in rain, in cold or when the wind blows violently, he must not seek to shelter himself without first sheltering the cows according to his ability. He should not say a word if a cow eats anything in his own or another's house or field or on the threshing floor, or if a calf drinks milk. After he has fully performed this penance he must give to the (Brāhmānas) learned in the Veda ten cows and a bull, or if he does not possess so much property he must offer to them all he has.¹

While such is the severity of the penance prescribed by Manu, Parāśara's rule requires simply the performance of what is called Prājāpatya which is divided into four grades of varying severity according to the degree of the gravity of the offence.

The observance of the whole penance extends over only four days. For the first day the sinner should take only a single meal ; for the next day he should eat at night ; for the third day he should eat what unasked is given to him, and on the fourth day he should live on air. Such is the nature of the Prājāpatya of the first grade.

The next three grades are of the same nature with this difference, that one day is added in each to the respective parts of the observance. Thus in the second grade the sinner should for two days have only single meal a day and so on. When the penance is finished, Brāhmānas should be given a feast and a *dakshina* and they should inaudibly recite the purificatory sacred hymns.

The purification prescribed by Manu for the slayer of a Brāhman requires that the sinner shall make a hut in the forest and dwell in it during twelve years subsisting on alms and making the skull of a dead man his flag. There are also other alternatives prescribed of a more or less severity. Lastly Manu declares : " This expiation has been prescribed for unintentionally killing a Brāhmana ; but for intentionally slaying a Brāhmana no atonement is ordained."

On the other hand the penance prescribed by Parāśara for killing a Brāhmana intentionally or unintentionally is a visit to the bridge on the sea near Cape Comorin, and bathing in that sea. Parāśara prescribes the mode in which the sinner should perform his journey.

He must live by begging from the four castes, must not use an umbrella nor wear shoes. He is to proclaim himself thus :—" I am

¹ Manu XI 109-117
Parāśara VIII, 36-42.

Manu XI, 73-87. 90

a sinner ; I have committed a heinous sin ; I have killed a Brāhmana. I am standing at the door of the house, with the expectation of getting some alms. He should likewise dwell in the midst of cows within villages or cities, or in places of hermitage or of pilgrimage ; or near the sources of rivers." The above penance is prescribed expressly for a resident in the north of the Vindhya mountain. As regards sinners residing in the south the Smṛiti is silent. An inference may be drawn that they should make a pilgrimage to the Ganges.

On the question of voyages by sea Parāśara is silent. There can be no doubt he did not intend to prohibit them seeing that he allows a Brāhmana to follow the occupation of a Vaiśya which includes the carrying of merchandise by sea. There is no express prohibition in Manu against sea voyages. On the other hand we find him making the following rules regarding freight

"Whatever rate men fix who are expert in sea voyages and able to calculate the profit according to the place, the time and the objects (carried), that has legal force in such cases with respect to the payment to be made."

"For a long passage the boat hire must be proportioned to the places and times ; know that this rule refers to passages along the banks of rivers ; at sea there is no settled freight." (Manu X, 157, 406.)

That Brāhmanas also travelled by sea in the time of Manu appears from the fact that trade was permitted even by Manu to a Brahmana who was not able to gain his livelihood by the occupations declared lawful to him and from the list given in the Code mentioning the sorts of Brāhmanas who were, from the ritualistic point of view, unfit to take a place in the same line with the strict Vaidiks invited on the occasion of the Śradha ceremonies. This list excludes Brāhmanas who travel by sea. There are texts in the Smṛitis of Boudhayana and Marichi which do not permit a Brāhmana to travel by sea. But when these texts and the texts in Manu are read together, as they should be, the conclusion is that the prohibition applies only to Vaidik priest and those Brāhmanas who keep the Agnihotra. As regards the Purānas the prohibition against a Brāhmana travelling by sea appears in the list of acts forbidden by them in the Kali Yuga, thereby implying the existence of sea faring Brāhmanas in the previous Yugas. We need not dwell here on the value of such a prohibition as a rule of law. I have already shown that the Purānas are no proof on law.

In the matter of drink and food Parāśara is strict. In prohibiting the use of spirituous liquors he has re-enacted the rule of Manu almost verbatim. As regards the use of animal food he goes much beyond Manu and Gautama and prohibits the use of it completely.

Such is a general description of the character of the laws of Parāśara. Upon the whole there is no doubt that he has shown himself to be more practical than the law-givers who preceded him as also those who came after him. Without openly dissenting from the older Smritis he has followed the principle laid down by Manu that each age has its own peculiar duties and laws.

One more point requires notice as having an intimate bearing on the authority of Parāśara.

Certain duties and actions which Parāśara has sanctioned expressly or by implication are forbidden in the Kali age by other Smritis and Purāṇas. This conflict is explained by Mādhavāchārya on the principle of impracticability and practicability. He presumes that the general prohibitions in other Smritis in regard to certain duties and actions are founded on considerations of impracticability. Parāśara's rules to the contrary should be taken as exceptions governing cases where conditions of impracticability do not exist. He further observes that Parāśara has special priority over other law-givers in the Kali age and the prohibitory injunctions found in other Smritis have no force in cases in which Parāśara's ordinances must be accepted as absolute, e.g., agriculture and such other matters. It should however be generally remarked that Mādhavāchārya's commentary does not fully enter into the spirit of Parāśara's laws. It assumes that on points which are not noticed by Parāśara, the old law remains unaffected, an assumption which is not justified by the statement of the objects and reasons stated in the preamble to the Samhitā.

Before concluding our remarks we would refer to text 37, Chapter II, in which Parāśara declares —

चतुर्णाम् पित्र्येणामाचारो धर्मपालकः ।

आचारभ्रष्ट देहानां भवेद्धर्म पराङ्मुखः ॥

“ A blameless life that fosters righteousness is what is proper for all the four castes. Righteousness turns its back to those whose bodies are defiled by a blameable life ”

I take these words to signify what Buddha meant when he declared, “ Not by birth is one a Brāhman, nor is one by birth no Brāhman ; by work (Kārmanā) one is a Brāhman by work one is no Brāhman ” (Mahāvagga Vasetha Sutta, 57).

There is another work bearing the name of Parāśara. It is called the Brihat-Parāśariya Dharma Śāstram or the Great Dharmaśāstra of Parāśara, and appears to be a later expansion of Parāśara Samhitā got up for sectarian purposes. It does not seem to have been regarded as an authoritative work because both Mādhavāchārya and

a later commentator by name Nanda Pandita chose Parāśara Smṛiti to write a commentary upon. I may mention here as throwing some light upon the character of works like the Brihat-Parāśariya Dharma-Śāstram the fact discovered by the late Dr. Burnell that there is another work called the Uttara-bhāga of the Parāśara Smṛiti which inculcates the worship of Rama in twelve chapters.

THE AGE OF PARĀŚARA.

We have now to fix the date of the Parāśara Smṛiti. This is not an easy question. Professor Oldenberg has well said "People in India have never had any organ for the when of things." It is not possible to determine the exact period when the Parāśara Smṛiti was composed. The form¹ in which we find the work indicates an author other than the Rishi whose name it bears. This suggestion receives some support from the view taken by the late Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik in his work on Hindu Law as to the origin of the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti. He says in a footnote to texts 4 and 5, Chapter I, thereof:— "The word in the original is [प्रयोजका] Prayojakāḥ which some lexicographers would render by law-givers But Prayojakāḥ signifies the causer or propounder, the person who causes another agent to act. * * * And it seems that it would be better to consider Manu and the rest rather as the causers than as the actual writers of the Smṛitis which bear their names. For, to begin with the list Manu himself is the *Prayojakā* or the causer, and Bhrigu, the author of the Smṛiti which bears Manu's name. Each chapter of Manu ends thus.—मानवे धर्मशास्त्रे भृगुप्रोक्तार्यां संहितायां अमुकाध्यायः which means "(Here ends) a certain Adhyaya (chapter) of the Samhita (text) composed by Bhrigu in the *Dharmasāstra* of Manu." In the case of the *Parāśara* Smṛiti also, Suvrata is the author, and Parāśara is evidently the sage at whose command the work was composed thus:—विभिः श्लोक सहस्रैस्तु विभिर्द्वैतशतैरपि । पराशरोदितं धर्मशास्त्रं प्रोवाच सुव्रत ॥ The meaning is:—The sage Suvrata composed the *Dharmasāstra* in 3,300 verses as propounded by Parāśara. "In the case of *Yājñavalkya* Smṛiti also, Yājñavalkya cannot be the author of the Smṛiti; for, the writer begins it by invoking Yājñavalkya (see Sloka 1st), and in the above enumeration again, the fourth law-giver is stated to be Yājñavalkya. The author of the *Mitākshara* again in his comments puts him at the top of Sanaka and other Yogis of the *Kṛita* age. He therefore places him far into a remote antiquity. It seems therefore that the Smṛiti is the collection of the precepts of Yājñavalkya by a follower of his school.

¹ Vide Ch. I, vs. 10, 14 . Ch. VI, v. 2.

This conclusion is also suggested by Mitramisra in his work entitled *Vīramitrodaya*. Vijnānesvara in his commentary on the first verse says :—याज्ञवल्क्य शिष्यः कश्चित् प्रभोक्तरूपं याज्ञवल्क्यप्रणीतं धर्मशास्त्रं संक्षिप्य कथयामास यथा मनुजैर्क मृगः । which means "some disciple of Yājñavalkya composed (the present treatise) by condensing the jurisprudence propounded (to him) by Yājñavalkya in the form of question and answer."

Against the Rao Saheb's view we have to notice two facts ; 1st, that the name Suvrata appears in the colophon of the Brihat-Parāśariya Dharmaśāstra, and not in the Parāśara Samhitā; secondly, Mādhavāchārya the commentator of our Parāśara Samhitā, far from supporting the view of Mr. Mandlik gives a directly contrary opinion. He, in his commentary on verse 19, Chapter I, pointedly raises the question as to who is the author of the Śloka and explains that Parāśara himself is the author of it, and by way of proof relies upon what he calls the universal acceptance of Ślokas in the Mahābhārata and other works giving an account of Vyāsa as the composition of Vyāsa himself. Assuming, however, that Mr. Mandlik's view is more reasonable, our difficulty is not lessened, for who Suvrata was, where and when he lived, there is nothing in the Brihat Parāśariya Dharmaśāstra to show.

The Hindus claim on the one hand a great antiquity for their sacred literature, an antiquity sometimes measured by millions of years ; while on the other, modern scholarship proceeding on Western scientific lines uses a freedom of speculation which assigns a period to the most ancient of the Vedic scriptures not earlier than perhaps three thousand years. In fixing the date of the several well known Smritis such as Manu, Western scholars apply generally the following tests.¹

(1) Preponderance or the entire absence of one or other of the three constituent elements which make up the substance of Indian law.

(2) The style of the language used.

(3) Whether the work mentions Greek Astrology and Greek coinage.

(4) Whether the Smṛiti contains any very archaic doctrines.

(5) Whether it contains indications of a sectarian origin.

The first three tests cannot help us, because the Parāśara Samhitā does not claim the same remote antiquity as Manu, Gautama, &c.

¹ Weber's History of Indian Literature, Third Edition, page 210.

The Smṛiti itself declares that its ordinances are for the Kālī age and many of its texts appear to have been borrowed from Manu and other old works word for word. None of the other Smṛitis except one bearing the name of Vṛiddha Gautama, a sectarian treatise, refers to the Parāśara Smṛiti.

Applying the last two tests I am inclined to hold that the Parāśara Smṛiti should be assigned to a period earlier than the Purāṇik age, the beginning of which is placed subsequent to the fifth century of the Christian era. We find that the Parāśara Smṛiti recognises the twelve kinds of sons including the Kṣhetraja and this recognition is virtually tantamount to sanctioning the archaic doctrine of *Niyoga*. Similarly we do not find in it any indications of a sectarian origin.

Medhātithi, the commentator of Manu who is supposed to belong to the ninth or tenth century, quotes the Parāśara Smṛiti.¹ This circumstance may be taken as a proof of its comparatively early age. I think it probable that the work was written at a time when the Indian mind was passing through a struggle between what may be called the Vedic orthodoxy and the Buddhistic dissent. The whole scheme of the work seems to me to be an attempt made under Buddhistic influences to restore the Vedic creed purged of its extravagances and demoralising practices.

Now arises the question how are we to reconcile the belief that Parāśara was the last of the law-givers with the fact that his name is mentioned in the Smṛiti of Yājñavalkya and other more ancient works as one of the Aryan law-givers. This question can be answered only by supposing that an earlier work of the real Parāśara existed and that on its lines the present one was composed in a later age by one of his descendants or followers. The family of Parāśara figures with a certain degree of prominence in Buddhistic literature. Mr. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* says that in the *Majjhima* (7. 298) the opinions of a certain Parāśariya, a Brāhmaṇa teacher, are discussed by the Buddha, and that a school of Parāśara-riyas is mentioned by Panini and referred to in an inscription mentioned by Cunningham.² Mr. R. C. Dutt in his *Civilization of India* (Ch. V., p. 63) refers to a work called Parāśara Tantra which professes to contain Parāśara's teachings and which belongs to the Buddhist age.

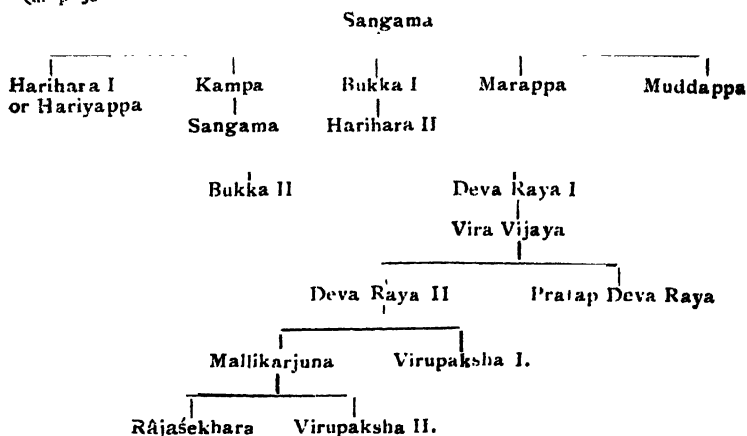
¹ Dr. Bühler's *Code of Manu* (S. B. E. series), Introduction, p. 225.

² *Buddhist India* by Rhys Davids, Ch. IX., p. 144.

MĀDHAVĀCHĀRYA.

Mādhavāchārya was descended from a family of Telugu Smārtha Brāhmins, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja Gotra and who were followers of the Baudhāyana Sutra of the Taittiriya Śakhi of the Yajurveda. He was born in the beginning of the fourteenth century A. C. The name of his father was Mayana and of his mother Śrīmatī. He had two younger brothers named respectively Sāyana and Bhoganātha. He acquired his learning and wisdom from three teachers namely Sarvajña Vishnu, Vidyātirtha and Bhāratitirtha otherwise known as Śankarānanda. He was the chief minister of Bukka Rāya I¹ and Harihara Rāya II who ruled at Vijayanagara from about 1343² to 1399 or 1401 A. C. He was a patron of learned men. He wrote many works himself and encouraged authorship in others. About the close of his long life he became a Sanyasi and was raised to the exalted position of the head of the Math at Śringiri, one of the four³ institutions established by the great Śankarachārya to look after the religious, moral and spiritual interests of the Indian Aryans. This is all that can be accepted as fully trustworthy in

¹ The genealogy of the first Vijayanagara Dynasty is given in the *Epigraphia Indica* (iii p. 36) —



A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara) by R. Sewell, M.C.S. (Retired), p. 24.

² *Ib.* pp. 27, 51. A History of the Deccan by J. D. B. Gribble, Vol. I, p. 64.

³ Mādhavāchārya is said to have died at the ripe age of ninety. [The Principles of Hindu Law by N. R. Narsimiah and P. Samsa Rao (1900) Introduction, p. 40.]

⁴ Badrināth in the North; Śringiri in the South; Dvārakā in the West and Jagannāth in the East.

the accounts which history and tradition have handed down concerning the life of Mādhavāchārya.¹

There are several stories of a more or less legendary character current regarding the rise of the kingdom of Vijayanagara.² They all ascribe the selection of the site and the construction of the city to the inspiration of a hermit called Vidyāranya who, it is said, was no other than the celebrated Mādhavāchārya, the prime minister of Bukka Raya I.

Colonel Mark Wilks has described the origin of Vijayanagara thus :—

“Two illustrious fugitives, Bukka and Akka Hurrehur, Officers of the Treasury of the dethroned king at Warankul, warned by one of those sacred visions which precede, or is feigned to precede, the establishment of every Hindu empire, formed the project of a new government, to be fixed on the banks of the river Toombuddra, a southern branch

¹ In the Introduction to his commentary on the Parāśara Smṛiti Mādhavāchārya describes himself as follows :—

सोऽहं प्राप्य विवेकीर्थपदवीमाम्नायतीर्थेपरम् । मञ्जत्सजनतीर्थसगनिपुणः स-
द्वृत्ततीर्थश्रयन् ॥ लब्धामाकलयन् प्रभावलहरी श्रीभारतीतीर्थतो । विद्यातीर्थमुपाश्रयन्-
हृदिभजे श्रीकण्ठमन्याहृतम् ॥

सत्यैकव्रतपालको द्विगुणधीक्यर्थी चतुर्वेदिता । पञ्चस्कन्धकृती षडन्वयदृढः
सप्तांगसर्वसहः ॥ अष्टव्यक्ति कलाधरो नवनिधिः पुण्यदशप्रत्ययः । स्मार्तोच्छ्रायधुरन्धरो
विजयते श्री बुक्कणक्षमापतिः ॥

इन्द्रस्याङ्गिरसोनलस्यसुमतिः शैब्यस्यमेधातिथिः । धौम्योधर्मसुतस्यवैन्यनृपतेः
स्वौजानिमेगौतामिः ॥ अत्यगृष्टिरुन्धतीसहचरो रामस्यपुण्यात्मनो । यद्वत्तस्य विभो-
रभूत्कुलगुरुमन्त्री तथा माधवः ॥ प्रज्ञामूलमही विवेक सलिलैः सिक्ताबलोपग्निका ।
मन्त्रैः पञ्चविता विशाल बिटपा सन्ध्यादिभिः षड्गुणैः ॥ शक्त्याकोरकिता यशःसुर-
मिता सिद्ध्यासमुद्यत्फला । सम्प्राप्ताभुविभातिनीतिलतिका सर्वोत्तर माधवम् ॥

श्रीमती जननी यस्य सुकीर्तिर्मायणः पिता । सायणोभोगनाथश्च मनोबुद्धिसहोदरौ ॥
यस्य बौधायनं सूत्रं शास्त्रायस्यचयाजुषी । भारद्वाजकुल यस्यसर्वज्ञः सहि माधवः ॥
समाधवः सकलपुराणसंहिताप्रवर्तकः स्मृतिसुषमापराशरः । परावरस्मृतजगदीहिता-
प्तये पराशरस्मृतिविबुधौ प्रवर्तते ॥

² The site of the ancient capital of the Vijayanagara kings is at present known as Hampi on the south bank of the Tungabhadra river, 36 miles north-west of Bellari in the Presidency of Madras. The vast ruins of fortifications, palaces, temples, tanks and bridges cover nine square miles including Anegundi, the later seat of the dynasty.

of the Kistna, under the spiritual and temporal guidance of the sage *Videyarannea*. This capital, named *Videyanaggur*, in compliment to their minister and preceptor, was commenced in 1336, and finished in 1343. Akka Hurryhur reigned until 1350 and Bukka until 1378 ¹."

A variant of this story given in a chronicle written by a Portuguese merchant or traveller who visited Vijayanagar between the years A. D. 1535 and 1537 is as follows:—

"The King going one day a-hunting as was often his wont, to a mountain on the other side of the river of Nugumdym², where now is the city of Bisnaga³—which at that time was a desert place in which much hunting took place, and which the king had reserved for his own amusement,—being in it with his dogs and appurtenances of the chase, a hare rose up before him, which, instead of fleeing from the dogs, ran towards them and bit them all, so that none of them dared go near it for the harm that it did them. And seeing this, the King astonished at so feeble a thing biting dogs which had already caught for him a tiger and a lion, judged it to be not really a hare but (more likely) some prodigy, and he at once turned back to the city of Nagumdym. And arriving at the river, he met a hermit, who was walking along the bank, a man holy among them, to whom he told what had happened concerning the hare. And the hermit, wondering at it, said to the King that, he should turn back with him and shew him the place, where so marvellous a thing had happened; and being there the hermit said that the King ought in that place to erect houses in which he could dwell, and build a city, for the prodigy meant that this would be the strongest city in the world and that it would never be captured by his enemies, and would be the chief city in the kingdom. And so the King did and on that very day began work on his houses and he enclosed the city round about; and that done he left Nagumdym and soon filled the new city with people. And he gave it the name *Vidyajuna*, for so the hermit called himself who had bidden him construct it; but in course of time this name has become corrupted and it is now called Bisnaga. And after that hermit was dead the king raised a very grand temple in honour of him and gave much revenue to it."

As far as the connection of a hermit with the origin of the city of Vijayanagar is concerned, the above tradition is very probably founded on fact; but the statement that that hermit was Mādhava-Vidya-

¹ Wilks' History of Mysore, Vol. I, p. 8.

² Anegundi.

³ Vijayanagar.

⁴ A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara) by R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service (Retired), p. 299.

rannya cannot be correct. Mādhavāchārya acquired the title of Vidyārannya¹ after he retired from worldly affairs and became a *Sanyasi*. This event took place after the year 1391 A.C., as will be shown hereafter, while Vijayanagar was built fifty-five years earlier, i.e., in 1336 when Mādhavāchārya was probably still occupied with his researches into the ancient Aryan philosophical systems. It appears to me that the hermit, from whose inspiration the city and the empire of Vijayanagar sprang up, was Vidyātirtha Muni who is invoked in the works written by Mādhavāchārya during the period when he was minister, as the incarnation of Maheshwara and as the saint who favoured and inspired the great Bukka Raya and made his throne firm and his wisdom effulgent.²

This Vidyātirtha was then, or subsequently became, the head of the Matha at Śringiri. His name appears in the list³ of Swamis of that monastery immediately above that of Mādhavāchārya described under his later name Vidyāranya.

Vidyātirtha and Vidyāranya were related as master and disciple. Both were friends and counsellors of Harihar and Bukka and their names were almost indistinguishable. It is, therefore, quite conceivable that the memory of Vidyātirtha, with the lapse of time, was lost in the towering personality of Mādhava-Vidyāranya, and the latter came to be associated with the establishment of the kingdom of Vijayanagar from its beginning.

According to tradition the bond which united Mādhavāchārya with Bukka Raya was hereditary. Popular belief attributes the elevation of the family from which the first dynasty of the kings of Vijayanagar were descended to the exertions and guidance of the father of

¹ Vidyārannya literally means the forest of learning.

² युक्तिं मानवती विदन्स्थिर धृतिर्भेदे विशेषार्थम् । गासोहः कमकृत्प्रयुक्ति-
निपुणः श्लाघ्यातिदेशोन्नतिः ॥ नित्यस्फूर्त्यधिकारवान्गतसदाबाधः स्वतन्त्रेश्वरो । जाग-
र्तिश्रुतिमत्प्रसन्नचरितः श्रीबुक्कणक्षमापतिः ॥ यद्ब्रह्मप्रतिपाद्यते प्रगुणयत्तत्पञ्चमूर्तिप्र-
थाम् । तत्रायस्थितिमूर्तिमाकलयति श्रीबुक्कणक्षमापतिः ॥ विद्यातीर्थमुनिस्तदात्मनिलस-
न्मूर्तिस्त्वष्ट्यादि । तेनास्यस्वगुणैरखण्डितपदं सार्वज्ञमुद्योतते ॥ Janniniya Nyā-
yamāla-Vistāra.

यस्यनिःश्वसित वेदावेदेभ्योयोऽखिलजगत् । निर्ममेतमहं वन्दे विद्यातीर्थमहेश्वरम् ॥
तत्कटाक्षेणतद्रूपम् दधदनुक्कमहीपतिः । आदिशन्माधवाचार्यम् वेदार्थस्य प्रकाशने ॥

Introduction to the Commentaries on the Vedas

³ This list is to be found in a sketch of the life of Vidyāranya Swami written by Pandit Pitambarji and embodied in the introduction to his edition of the Panchadasi with a translation into Hindustani published by Mr. Sharif Sale Mahammad of Bombay.

Mādhavāchārya.¹ How far this belief is founded in fact it is -- possible to determine. There can, however, be no doubt that a close and real friendship existed between the two families. Sāyanāchārya² also filled at one time the position of minister at Vijayanagarr.³

It appears that the brothers Hariyara I and Bukka I were Officers of the Treasury of the King of Telingana whose capital was -- Varangal which was destroyed by the Mahomedans in the year 1323 A.C. On the destruction of Varangal the two brothers joined by the father of Mādhavāchārya proceeded to Anagundi and took service under the petty Raja of that place where circumstances favouring them, they rose in a few years to the position of the ruling chiefs.⁴ This was an anxious and trying period to the people of Southern India. The condition of affairs is thus depicted by Mr. Sewell in his "List of Antiquities, Madras." "Delhi had been captured by the Ghazni Ghorians in 1193 and a dynasty established there which lasted till A. D. 1288. The Khiljis succeeded (1288-1320) and Alauddin Khilji despatched the first Mahomedan expedition into the Dakhan in A. D. 1306. Four years later the Musalman armies under Malik Kāfur swept like a torrent over the peninsula."

"Devagiri⁵ and Orangal⁶ were both reduced to subjection, the capital of the Hoysala Ballālas was taken and sacked, and the kingdoms both of the Cholas and Pandiayas were overthrown.

¹ Dr Burnell's Introduction to the Translation of the Chapter on Dāva-Vibhāga of Mādhavāchārya's Vyavahāra Kānda of the Parāśara Mādhavīyam.

² A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara) by R. Sewell, M. C. S. (Retired), p. 28.

On the death of Hariyara I the succession to the throne became the subject of a dispute between Bukka I and his cousin Sangama, and for sometime the latter got the upper hand and ruled the state with Sāyana as his minister. *Ib.*

When Mādhavāchārya became minister on the accession of Bukka Raja, Sāyana was relegated to a subordinate position in the State. Sāyana again became the chief minister on the retirement of Mādhava about the close of the reign of Hariyara II. This appears from the colophons of certain portions of the *Veda-bhāṣyam*. The colophon of the *Āiti-rayāranyaka Bhāṣyam* runs thus:--

इति श्रीमद्विद्यातीर्थ महेश्वर परावतारस्य वैदिक मार्गप्रवर्तकस्य श्रीवीरनुक्कमारा
जस्य आज्ञा परिपालकेन सायणामात्येन विरचित माधवीये वेदार्थप्रकाशे ऐतरेयारण्य-
ककाण्ड भाष्ये &c. &c.

The Colophon of the Bhāṣyam on the Taitirīya Brāhman runs thus:--

इति श्रीमद्राजाधिराज परमेश्वर वैदिकमार्गप्रवर्तक श्रीवीर हरिहर भूपाल साम्राज्य-
पुरन्धरसायणाचार्य विरचिते माधवीये वेदार्थप्रकाशे &c. &c.

³ A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar) by R. Sewell, M.C.S. (Retired), Ch. II., p. 23.

⁴ Devagiri, the ancient capital of the Yadava Dynasty of the Dekhan.

⁵ Orangal or Warangal, an ancient town 86 miles north-east of Haidarābād. It was the capital of the Hindu Kingdom of Telingana founded by the Narapati Andhras.

Anarchy followed over the whole South—Musalmán Governors, representatives of the old royal families, and local chiefs being apparently engaged for years in violent internecine struggles for supremacy. The Ballálas disappeared from the scene and the kingdoms of Devagiri and Orangal were subverted. A slight check was given to the spread of the Mahommedan arms when a confederation of Hindu chiefs, led by the gallant young Ganapati Raja, withstood and defeated a large Mahomedan army; and the aspect of affairs was altered by the revolt of the Dakhani Mussalmans against their sovereign in A. D. 1347 which resulted in the establishment of the Bâhamani Kingdom of the Dakkan. But the whole of Southern India was convulsed by this sudden aggression of the Mahommedans and all the old kingdoms fell to pieces."

These troubled times required a political leader of the greatest ability and integrity. Such a leader the people of Southern India found in Mâdhavâchârya who had attained to the highest eminence among his contemporaries both as a scholar and as a holy man. Whether he was married or not there is no evidence to show. The study of the ancient literature of his Aryan forefathers had kindled in his heart an intense patriotism which, it appears, led him to prefer the life of a celibate and take the noble resolution to dedicate himself wholly to the service of his country and of its gods and religion. When, therefore, the people appealed to him for light and leading in their struggle for independence, he readily came forward and by a bloodless revolution brought about the unification of the whole of Southern India with the fighting Kings of Vijayanagar at its head.¹ The task was a difficult one, but the ascendancy which his life of self-abnegation had given Mâdhava over the minds of the people was so great, and the confidence which they felt in his judgment and integrity so implicit, that all the old states large and small in the south submitted voluntarily to a sort of federal union under the central government of Vijayanagar. Justice (नीति) and national prosperity (देशोन्नति) were the corner stone of this union. This circumstance, by giving to it a certain degree of coherence and stability, enabled it to successfully check the wave of foreign invasion for two centuries and a half.

Mâdhavâchârya, as chief minister, ruled the destinies of the people of Southern India for nearly half a century. Although he upheld the old doctrine of the divine origin of kings, he recognised the principle that their authority should be principally limited to the maintenance of peace and punishment of crime only. In general administration

¹ A History of the Deccan by J. D. B. Gribble, Vol. I, p. 62.

A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar), by R. Sewell, M. C. S., Retired, pp. 8, 374, 389.

he left matters civil and social to be determined according to usage and the sense of the community concerned. As an illustration of the way in which legislation on social matters was effected in the country subject to the authority of the Kings of Vijayanagara may be noted in the following case recorded by Mr. S. S. Rāghavyangar, Dewan Bahadur, C.I.E., in his work on the Progress of the Madras Presidency.

"There is an inscription at Virinjipuram, North Arcot district, dated during the reign of Veerapratapa Devaraja Maharaja of Vijayanagar, A. D. 1419, which shows that the practice of paying money to parents of girls to induce them to give them in marriage was widely prevalent in former times. The inscription states 'in the reign of the illustrious Veerpratapa Devaraja Maharaja, the great men of all branches of sacred studies of the kingdom drew up in the presence of Gopinath of Arkapushkarini, a document containing an agreement regarding the sacred law. According to this if the Brahmans of this kingdom of Padaividu, viz., Kannadigas, Tamiras, Telungas, Halas, &c., of all Gotras, Sutras and Śākhās, conclude a marriage, they shall from this day forward do it by Kanyādānam (gift of girls). Those who do not adopt Kanyādānam, i.e., both those who give away a girl after having received gold, and those who conclude marriage after having given gold, shall be liable to punishment by the King and shall be excluded from the community of the Brahmanas.' "

The literary activity of which Mādhavāchārya became the centre as the prime minister of Bukka-Rāya was exceptionally great and widespread. It covered almost all branches of Sanskrit literature. The exact number of works which are attributed to Mādhavāchārya directly and indirectly is not known. But it is supposed to be very large. In Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* a list of about 100 works is given. Some oriental scholars are disposed to question the honesty of Mādhavāchārya as a patron of letters. They suppose that he was guilty of passing works written by others as his own productions. But this charge is for the most part groundless. It chiefly relates to the authorship of the commentaries on the Vedas, and is based upon the circumstance that they, although really written by Śāyanāchārya, are popularly known as Vidyāranya-Bhāshyam. For this, it should be noted, Mādhavāchārya cannot be held responsible. I find that the fact that the commentaries were written by Śāyanāchārya is acknowledged in the colophons of many of the copies now in use. The true account of the origin of the commentaries is that Bukka-Raya wished Mādhavāchārya to write them, and Mādhavāchārya with the king's

¹ Memorandum on the Progress of the Madras Presidency during the last forty years of British Administration (1808), p. 45.

permission entrusted the task to Sāyanāchārya. This appears from the introduction to the Bhāshyam itself.¹

The colophons almost invariably contain the words सायणाचार्य विरचिते माधवीये वेदार्थप्रकाशे which means "written by Sāyanāchārya for the Mādhava series of commentaries on the Vedas" and which is analogous to "The Ordinances of Manu by A. C. Burnell for Trubner's Oriental Series" or "the Law of Manu translated by G. Buhler for Max Muller's Sacred Books of the East." Most of the works attributed to Mādhavāchārya belong to the period during which he filled the office of minister of Bukka-Raya I and Harihar Raya II. This is indicated by the mention, in the prefaces, of Bukka-Raya and his patron saint Vidyatirtha. In works composed before and after that period their names do not appear. The Sarvadarshana Sangraha belongs to the former period and mentions the name only of Sarvajña Vishnu from whom Mādhavāchārya received his early education; while certain works on Vedantism—Panchadasi being the most popular among them—were written after Mādhavāchārya retired from political life and became a *Sanyasi*. His life of Śāṅkarāchārya also seem to belong to the last period. These works mention neither Sarvajña Vishnu nor Bukka-Raya. They mention only Vidyatirtha and Bhāratitirtha, the spiritual masters of Mādhavāchārya.

Mādhavāchārya was a staunch follower of Śāṅkarāchārya, "the greatest of all great Asiatic sages, whose learning and scholarship all scholars Eastern and Western honour, who bears a name revered by every learned Hindu all over the land where he preached and taught from his monastery at Badrinath in the north to that of Śringeri in the south, from Dwarka, the city of Krishna, in the west to Jagannath, once the Buddhist place of worship, now the common ground of assembly for all Hindus on the coast of Orissa in the East."

¹ तत्कटाक्षेण (विद्या तीर्थरूप महेश्वरं कटाक्षेण) तद्रूपमदधद्रुक्महीपतिः आदिशन्माधवाचार्यम् वेदार्थस्य प्रकाशने॥ सहाहनुपातिराजन् सायणार्योममानुजः । सर्वे बेल्लेषवेदानां व्याख्यातृवेनियुजताम् ॥ इत्युक्तोमाधवार्येण वीरबुक्महीपतिः । अन्व-
शात्सायणाचार्यं वेदार्थस्य प्रकाशने॥ Introduction to the Veda-Bhashyam.

The colophon of the commentary on the Yajurveda-Brahmanam runs thus:—

श्रीमद्राजाधिराज परमेश्वर वैदिकमार्गप्रवर्तक श्रीवीर हरिहर भूपालसाम्राज्य धु-
रन्धरेण सायणाचार्येण विरचिते माधवीय वेदार्थप्रकाशे यजुर्ब्राह्मणे &c., &c.

After a deep study of all the ancient systems of philosophy as shown by his earliest known work, the *Sarvadarśana Saṅgrha*,¹ Mādhavāchārya, in the full maturity of his intellect and experience, declared his belief in the doctrines of Advaitism as containing the best possible solution of the "problem of the universe, and the enigmas of the world." It would be out of place to enter here upon a discussion of the Vedānta philosophy. Such a discussion is not within my present limits. I will only remark here that the life of Mādhavāchārya furnishes an answer to those who argue that the teachings of Vedānta are destructive of humility and benevolence, that they paralyse energy and enterprise and deaden all feelings of responsibility and independence.

Of the merits of Mādhavāchārya's works I am not a competent judge. But those who are qualified to pronounce an opinion on the point speak highly of them. One Pandit says of them that they are written in a style which, while it is simple and charming, is remarkable for its solemnity, boldness and depth. In his Śaṅkaravijaya Madhava calls himself *Nava Kalidasa* (i.e. a new Kalidas). How far this claim for equality with the world-celebrated author of *Śakuntala* is justifiable I cannot say. There is, however, no doubt that, speaking generally, the work fulfils the conditions of high class poetry. The Panchadasi, considering the abstruse character of the matter which it treats of, shows a boldness of thought, mastery of expression and power of illustration seldom equalled by writers on metaphysics.

As regards the commentaries on the Parāśara Smṛiti, I am inclined to agree with Dr. Aufrecht's description of them, namely, that they are more diffusive than illustrative of the text.

Really speaking, the Parāśara Mādhaviyam is a Digest of the Smṛitis under the name of a Commentary on the Parāśara Smṛiti. The commentator, instead of elucidating in his own language the meaning of the text, has in many places mystified it by a cloud of quotations from other Smṛitis in a manner inconsistent with the declared object of Parāśara's legislation, namely, to curtail ritualistic and penitential ceremonies. Judging according to the experience of the present day, no small mischief has arisen to Hindu society from the prominence given by him to the Purāṇik doctrine of "prohibitions for the Kali age," which, while condemning many objectionable practices, declared against certain useful institutions such as the freedom of travelling by sea.

¹ A concise account of fifteen Philosophical systems with the exception of the Vedānta.

² प्रमाणोत्पादिता विद्या प्रमाणं प्रबलविना न नश्यति न वेदान्तात् प्रबलमान मीक्षते ॥ Panchadasi, Ch. II, V, 108.

As regards Mādhavāchārya's original production on Jurisprudence (the Vyavahār-Kanda) I propose to deal with it elsewhere. Here I will only passingly remark that on methods of administering justice he generally follows the old law-givers such as Manu, Kātyāyana, Nārada and Brihaspati, while on the law of inheritance he follows the Mitākshara and Smṛiti Chandrika.

The exact date at which Mādhavāchārya's tenure of ministership came to an end cannot be ascertained. Judging from epigraphical evidence it must have terminated after the year 1391¹ A.C. or about the close of the reign of Harihara II who reigned till 1402.

Mādhavāchārya on becoming a Sanyasi was, as already stated, raised to the position of the head of the Matha at Sringeri. His place on the list of the Swamis of that Institution is a subject of much speculation. Some say he was the thirty-third successor of Śankarāchārya, some say he was the twenty-sixth, while others say he was the tenth or the eleventh.

Whether any one of these positions can be admitted as correct, and if so which, it is not possible to determine without fixing the date of Śankarāchārya. As regards Śankarāchārya's date there are two views, one represented by the late Mr K. T. Telang who assigns the Āchārya to the middle of the sixth century of the Christian era,² and the other by the late Bhatta Yajñeshwara Sastri and the majority of European Sanskrit scholars who place him in the year 788 A.C. With neither of these does any of the above positions agree.

¹ This is the date of a grant by Madhavacharya conferring 2 estates in the village of Kochren in Goa upon 24 learned Brahmins named therein. The inscription states that the village was thenceforward named Madhavapura that Madhav conquered Goa from the Turushkas and re-established there the worship of the ancient gods. (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. Society, Vol. 4 p. 125.)

² A Paper on the date of Sankaracharya by K. T. Telang published as an appendix to his edition of Mudrārākshasa.

Dr. Deussen accepts what he calls the Hindu tradition which places the birth of the author of *Shrīrīka Bhāṣya* in 788 A.D. The learned Doctor says that according to the statement of the late Yajñeshwara Sastri with whom he discussed the passages which the Sastri adduces in the *Aryavidyasudhakara*, p. 226, the Sampradaya referred to in his work is that of Sringeri, where also documentary evidence for its correctness is said to exist. Hence Dr. Deussen hesitates to accept Mr. Telang's conclusions. Buhler's Code of Manu (S. B. E., Vol. XXV), Introduction, p. 112. Some time ago I came across a book on "Shrī Shankaracharya", published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. The author, Mr. Krishnasami Aiyar, discusses the question of the age of Shankara at p. 16-18, ch. II. He accepts provisionally 788 A.C. as the date of Shankara's birth, and holds that Mr. Telang's conclusion requires additional and more direct evidence.

Mr. Aiyar refers to a list of Shankara's successors. He says that the Sringeri Mutt has that list, and rejects it as imperfect for the reason, among others, that it assigns to Suresvaracharya, the immediate successor of the Guru a period of 700 years or more. Mr. Aiyar does not give us the date with which the list ends nor does he state the number of Swamis mentioned therein.

On his entrance into the life of a Sanyasi, Mādhavāchārya did not rest from his literary labours. He is said to have written several works on the Advait Philosophy including Panchadasi which has been already referred to, and which is the most popular treatise on Vedant throughout India at the present day.

I have referred above in a footnote to a list given in an account of the life of Vidyarannya appended to an edition of the Panchadasi, edited by Pandit Pitambarji and published at Bombay by Mr. Sharif Salemahammad in the year 1876. According to this list, which the Pandit says is based upon the Sringeri Gurupaddhati and which was copied from an original—the records of the Sringeri Math—Shankaracharya presided for thirty-two years ending with the year 1 of the Vikram era corresponding with 51 A.C. This indicates the nineteenth year of the Christian era to be the date of Shankara's birth, a conclusion which I need hardly say is inadmissible according to the now generally accepted chronological adjustment of the leading events in Indian history prior to the Mohammedan period. Still this list of Pandit Pitambarji when compared with Mr. Aiyar's list and Bhatta Yajneswari Shastri's Sampradaya list certainly points in its favour which are worth noting. The list which begins with the year 5 (19 A.C.) of the Vikram era and ends with the Shalivahana Shaka year 1742 (180 A.C.) gives fifty-six names, including Shankaracharya, and shows how many years each of the Swamis presided and till what year.

Among the objections to the accuracy of this list I may mention two which are most difficult to explain. The first is that the length of Shankaracharya's tenure of office shown therein, namely 32 years, covers the whole period for which, according to popular belief, Shankaracharya lived.

The second objection arises from the place assigned in the list to Mādhava Vidyarannya. The name of Vidyarannya appears twice, the first at number twenty-six and the second at number thirty-three. The former is shown to have presided for forty years ending with the Shaka year 98 and the latter for forty-two years ending with Shaka 116 (124 A.C.) Pandit Pitambarji identifies the second Vidyarannya with Mādhavāchārya—a conclusion which, although it is corroborated by the circumstance that the two immediately preceding names in the list correspond with those of the Guru Vidyatirtha and Bhairatirtha, is contradicted by the evidence derived from inscriptions and other sources connected with the Vijayanagara empire. This last mentioned evidence proves that Mādhavāchārya belonged to the fourteenth century of the Christian era and not to the thirteenth.

With these latter flaws in it Pandit Pitambarji's list, however, seems too circumstantial to be rejected as worthless without further inquiry.

Mr. Aiyar's list makes Suresvaracharya the immediate successor of Shankaracharya. Pandit Pitambarji's list does not mention Suresvaracharya at all. According to it the immediate successor of Shankaracharya was Prithvidhacharya, who is shown to have ruled for sixty-five years ending with Shalivahana Shaka year thirty-seven.

Mādhavāchārya's Shankaradigvijaya upon which Mr. Aiyar's book is based does not name Suresvaracharya as the immediate successor of Shankaracharya at Sringeri.

Mr. Aiyar gives another reason for his provisional date. It is this. Mādhavāchārya's book locates the Buddhists mainly in Kashmir or more generally in the Himalayan regions, and Magadha does not seem to have figured in Shankara's days as the stronghold of Buddhism or even as a province where the Buddhists were numerous though in the minority.

With reference to this it may be remarked that Mādhavāchārya's account of Shankara's life and achievements has no chronological value and that there is no sufficient ground for the statement that, according to Mādhavāchārya, the Buddhists were confined to Kashmir and the snowy regions in Shankara's life-time. Mr. Aiyar's statement is probably based upon the last chapter of Mādhava's Shankaradigvijaya, where an account of

I regret that the materials at my disposal do not enable me to give a fuller account of the life of Mādhavāchārya. He was a great man in the true sense of the word. As a devoted student of Aryan literature and sciences, as an author, as a patron of learning, as a statesman who, with a rare self-sacrifice, laboured to create a spirit of nationality among his country-men, and, lastly as a sage who was not blinded by worldly power and success to those high spiritual truths which are the peculiar inheritance of the Indian Aiyans Mādhavāchārya perhaps had no equal in India during the time he lived in, and it is a question whether the history of India during the last six hundred years discloses another personality of equal greatness. The life of such a man deserves to be studied and cherished as a model by every patriotic Aryan of India.

Shankarāchārya's visit to Kashmir, Bidri and Kedar is given. This account, however, is interesting not as helping us to fix the date of Shankara's birth but as throwing some light on the opinion which the northerners entertained regarding the culture of the southerners in the good old times. It is as follows—

While Shankara was sojourning on the banks of the Ganges a common report reached his ears to the effect that at Kashmir there flourished a Temple of Sarasvatī with a seat in it called the *Sarāṁśa-peṭham*—a seat for those who were possessed of infinite learning—that a person who wished to obtain the highest honours in knowledge was required to ascend it after passing an examination before a college of learned men—that the Temple had four entrances for candidates from the east, west, north and south, respectively—that candidates from the east, west, and north had appeared and won the honour of ascending the seat of knowledge—but that no person had yet come from the south—and the southern entrance had remained closed—that, on hearing this report, Shankara started for Kashmir with the determination of refuting the prevailing belief that there were no learned men in the south—that when he presented himself before the southern door he was opposed by an assembly of men skilled in the systems of Kṛnāda, Gautama, Kapila, Buddha, Jini and Jaimini and other Sastras—but that on his answering the questions put by them he was received with respect and allowed to open the southern door and ascend the seat of infinite knowledge.

I need hardly say that the above account does not warrant the supposition that in Shankara's time the Buddhists were confined to the Himalaya regions.

There is a third view regarding Shrinkarāchārya's date. Professor K. B. Pathak in a Paper on Bhartrihari and Kumārila has stated his conclusion that Shankarāchārya lived between 750 and 850 A.D. (The Journal of the B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XLIII, p. 1).

*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch Royal
Asiatic Society.*

1907.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 13th February 1907, to accept the offer of the subscribers to the Campbell Memorial Medal Fund and to appoint Trustees to hold the Fund.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice Presidents, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Read a letter from Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S., written on behalf of himself and other subscribers offering to hand over to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Port Trust Bonds of the nominal value of Rs. 3,000, being the investment of a Fund subscribed by members of the Indian Civil Service for the purpose of founding a gold medal to be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal" upon the terms of the scheme, a copy of which is laid upon the table.

On the proposition of the Honorary Secretary, seconded by the Honorable Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, it was resolved that :—The offer be accepted and that the Fund be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal Fund" and be held by the Society upon the terms and for the purposes of the scheme submitted; the said scheme being as follows :—

Scheme for the proper management of the Fund handed over to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for the founding of a Gold Medal to be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal."

1. The Fund at present consisting of Bombay Port Trust Four per cent. Bonds of the nominal value of Rs. 3,000 shall be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal Fund" and shall be handed over to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., and Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S., as the first Trustees thereof, who shall execute a declaration of Trust in respect of the same declaring that they hold the said Fund and the investments for the time being representing the same in trust for the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (hereinafter referred to as the Society) for the purposes of this Scheme.

2. The number of Trustees of the Fund shall never be less than three and the power of appointing new Trustees either in substitution for any existing Trustee or to fill a vacancy caused by the death or retirement of any Trustee shall vest in the Society.

3. The Fund may be maintained in its present state of investment or at the discretion of the Society may be sold and the proceeds of sale re-invested in any securities for the time being authorized by law for the investment of trust moneys with power for the Society from time to time to vary or transpose such investments into or for others of a like nature.

4. The income accrued from the investments for the time being representing the fund shall, from time to time, on demand be handed over by the Trustees to the Committee of the Society or to some person authorized by the said Committee to receive the same, and any income not required for the purposes of this Scheme and any accretions to the Fund from whatsoever source arising shall, from time to time, as the Society shall think fit, be invested in securities of the nature hereinbefore specified and be vested in the Trustees for the time being of the fund as part of the capital thereof.

5. The Capital of the fund shall not under any circumstances be drawn upon nor shall the income thereof be anticipated.

6. The Society shall apply the income of the fund or so much thereof as shall from time to time be required for the purpose in providing a gold medal to be known as the "Campbell Memorial Medal" and to be awarded in recognition of distinguished services in Oriental Research upon the terms hereinafter mentioned.

7. The services referred to in the last preceding clause shall consist in the publication since the year 1903 of a treatise pamphlet or book in English on the subject of Oriental History Folklore or Ethnology calculated to further the objects of the Society, namely the investigation and encouragement of Oriental Arts, Sciences and Literature.

8. Subject to the provisions of this clause and of clause 14 hereunder the first award of the medal shall be made in the year one thousand nine hundred and seven and subsequent awards shall be made at intervals of not less than three years unless the Committee of the Society under the power contained in clause 16 hereof shall decide to make more frequent awards, but so nevertheless that no award shall be made in the year one thousand nine hundred and seven or any subsequent year unless a fitting recipient be forthcoming

9. The selection of a recipient shall, subject to the approval of the Committee of the Society, be made by a Committee (hereinafter called the Selection Committee), the members of which shall be nominated by the President of the Society in each year in which the medal is proposed to be awarded and such nomination shall be communicated in writing to the Committee of the Society previously to and shall be considered by them at their first meeting held after the first day of February in any year in which the medal is proposed to be awarded and such nomination shall be subject to the approval of the Committee of the Society.

10. In the event of the Committee of the Society not approving of the nomination of any member or members of the Selection Committee, the President of the Society shall nominate another member or other members as the case may be until three members shall be so approved and in the event of any irreconcilable difference between the President and the Committee of the Society a committee shall be formed of three members, one of whom shall be chosen by the President of the Society, one by the Senior Vice-President of the Society and one by the Committee of the Society.

11. In the event of the Selection Committee not being unanimous a majority of the members thereof shall bind the minority.

12. The Selection Committee shall have the right in order to assist them in forming their judgment of consulting all or any of the Professors of Oriental subjects at the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Allahabad or any other scholars whom they may think fit to consult.

13. The Selection Committee may with the consent of the Committee of the Society award a sum of money not exceeding Rupees one hundred to the recipient of the medal in addition thereto when it appears to them that the recipient of the medal would accept a pecuniary honorarium in addition thereto.

14. In the event of the Committee of the Society not approving of any selection made by the Selection Committee the medal in that year shall not be awarded.

15. If in any year the medal shall not be awarded owing to a fitting recipient not being forthcoming as provided in clauses 8 and 14 hereof, the income of the fund which has accumulated since the date when the medal was last awarded and which would otherwise have been expended in providing the medal for such year shall be invested by the Society in any of the securities hereinbefore authorised and shall be treated as part of the capital of the fund.

16. The Committee of the Society may at any time hereafter, notwithstanding anything in clause 8 hereof if the income of the said fund shall, owing to accumulations arising under clause 15 hereof or from any other cause, be sufficient to enable them to do so, decide that the medal shall be awarded at a less interval or less intervals than three years.

17. The Committee of the Society may from time to time make and alter rules and regulations for the management of the medal, provided that no rules or regulations so made by them shall be contrary to the objects of the Society as defined in clause 7 hereof or to these presents.

18. With the exception of the appointment from time to time as occasion may arise of new Trustees of the fund which appointments shall be made by the Society, all acts and things by this scheme provided to be done by the Society shall be deemed to be duly done and performed if the same shall be done and performed by the Committee of the Society for the time being and the Trustees of the fund shall be discharged by the receipt of the said Committee or of any persons authorised by them in respect of any payments from time to time made by them out of the income of the fund

19. The Trustees of the fund may from time to time reimburse themselves or pay and discharge out of the income of the fund all expenses incurred in or about the execution of the Trusts declared by the said Declaration of Trust

On the proposition of the Honorary Secretary, seconded by Mr James MacDonald, it was resolved that —The Hon'ble Mr Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, Mr A. M¹ Jackson, I C S, and Mr R E Enthoven, I.C.S., be appointed Trustees of the Fund and that they do execute a Declaration of Trust in the form laid upon the table, declaring that they hold the said fund in trust for the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for the purposes of the said scheme. The said declaration of trust should be as follows —

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME WE the Hon'ble Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar one of His Majesty's Judges of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay Arthur Mason Tippetts Jackson of His Majesty's Indian Civil Service and Reginald Edward Enthoven also of His Majesty's Indian Civil Service send GREETING WHEREAS the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (hereinafter referred to as the Society) is a Society incorporated with the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and has for its objects the investigation and encouragement of Oriental Arts, Sciences and Literature AND WHEREAS an offer

was recently made to hand over to the Society certain Securities being the investment of a fund subscribed by Members of His Majesty's Indian Civil Service for the purpose of founding a gold medal to be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal" upon the terms of a scheme which was at the same time submitted to the Society AND WHEREAS at a Meeting of the Society held in Bombay on the 13th day of February 1907 it was resolved that the offer above referred to should be accepted and that the fund should be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal Fund" and be held upon the terms and for the purposes of the said scheme which scheme should be entered at length upon the minutes of the meeting and it was further resolved that we these Declarants should be the Trustees of the fund and should execute these presents for declaring that we hold the said fund in trust for the Society for the purposes of the said scheme AND WHEREAS a copy of the scheme submitted to the Society as aforesaid is subjoined to these Presents by way of schedule AND WHEREAS the fund consisting at the present time of Bombay Port Trust Four Per Cent bonds of the nominal value of Rs. 3,000 has before the date of these presents been duly handed over to and transferred into the names of us these Declarants NOW THEREFORE KNOW YE and these presents witness and we the said Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Arthur Mason Tippetts Jackson and Reginald Edward Enthoven do hereby declare that we these Declarants and the survivors and survivor of us and the heirs executors or administrators of such survivor and so far as we lawfully can and may bind them the Trustees for the time being of the said Fund appointed from time to time hereafter by the Society whether in substitution for us or any of us or in the place of any one or more of us dying or retiring from the Trust by these presents declared *shall and will* at all times hereafter hold and possess the Fund so-called or known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal Fund" and all investments for the time being representing the same and any accretions thereto and the income from time to time to arise from the capital of such fund including all accretions thereto (if any). In Trust for the Society for the purposes of the said Scheme a copy whereof is subjoined hereto *To the Intent* that so far as the terms of the said scheme apply to and affect the Trustees of the said fund we these Declarants shall conduct and manage the same in accordance with the terms and provisions of the said scheme *In Witness whereof* we have hereunto set our hands and seals this 9th day of April 1907

A meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 15th March, 1907. Mr. K. R. Cama, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. J. J. Mody then read a paper, "a few Notes on Broach," from an antiquarian point of view.

On the motion of Mr. S. T. Bhandare, seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Logan, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Modi for the interesting paper he had read.

The annual Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 22nd March 1907.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. M. H. Fulton, President, in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the following Report of the Society for 1906.

The Annual Report for 1906.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—57 New Members were elected during the year and 5 Non-Resident Members having come to Bombay, were added to the list of Resident Members 27, withdrew, 4 died, 21 retired, and 3 having left Bombay, were placed on the list of Non-Resident Members; and 2 were removed from the roll for non-payment of subscription. The total number of Members at the close was thus 323 against 318 in the preceding year.

Non-Resident.—17 Members joined under this class and 3 were transferred from the list of Resident Members. 10 resigned, 1 retired, 1 died, 4 were removed from the list for non-payment of subscription, and 5 were added to the list of Resident Members. This leaves 96 on the roll at the end of the year. The number at the end of 1905 was 97.

Among the Members shown as retired are included several gentlemen, who have been absent from India for a number of years and from whom no formal notice of resignation has been received.

OBITUARY.

The Society record with regret the death of the following Members during the year :—

RESIDENT.

Harischandra Krishna Joshi, Esq.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Badrudin Tyabji.
A. Mackenzie, Esq.
S. Joyce, Esq.

NON-RESIDENT.

H. Pogson, Esq.

ABSTRACT OF THE SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS.

THE PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandavarkar has been asked, and has kindly consented, to accept the office of President of the Society for the current year in place of the Hon'ble Mr. E. M. H. Fulton who is retiring from India.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were contributed to the Society during the year :—

Nripatunga and the Authorship of Kaviraja Marga.

By K. B. Pathak, B.A.

An Epigraphical Note on Dharmapala, the Second Prince of the Pala Dynasty.

By S. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

Macoudi on Volcanoes

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

The Date of the Death of Nizami.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

An Eklingji Stone Inscription and the Origin and History of the Lakulisa Sect.

By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

The Death of Akbar.

By R. P. Karkaria, B.A.

The First Englishman in India and his Works, especially his Christian Puran.

By J. A. Saldanha, B.A., LL.B

Bombay as seen by Dr. Ives in 1754.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

LIBRARY

The total issue during the year amounted to 45,106 volumes, comprising 30,455 Volumes of new books including periodicals, and 14,651 of the old. The daily average, excluding Sundays and holidays, was 149 volumes. The issue in the preceding year was 42,926.

The issues of each month are noted in the subjoined table.

MONTHLY ISSUES.

					<i>Old Books.</i>	<i>New Books.</i>
January	...	...	..	...	1,446	2,311
February	...	...	...	...	1,416	1,593
March	...	...	...	...	1,629	2,104
April	...	...	...	...	1,467	2,827
May	...	...	...	...	1,079	2,499
June	...	...	...	...	1,277	2,454

					<i>Old Books.</i>	<i>New Books.</i>
July	...	...	...	...	1,257	2,735
August	...	...	...	...	1,155	2,731
September	...	...	...	...	1,107	2,780
October	...	...	...	...	1,020	2,904
November	...	...	...	...	910	2,888
December	...	...	...	...	888	2,629
Total					14,651	30,455

The volumes of issues of old and new books, arranged according to subjects, are shown in the following table :—

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Volumes.</i>
Fiction	17,718
Biography	2,226
History	1,590
Voyages, Travels, &c	1,504
Miscellaneous, Collected Works and Essays	1,253
Oriental Literature	839
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of Learned Societies (in bound volumes)	579
Naval and Military	508
Poetry and Drama	445
Art, Architecture, Engineering	420
Philology, Literary History	396
Politics, Political Economy, &c.	348
Religion and Theology	296
Natural History, Geology, &c.	263
Philosophy	236
Archæology, Antiquities, &c.	231
Foreign Literature	226
Government Publications, Public Records	159
Classics	151
Medicine	151
Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, &c.	119
LAW	97
Botany, Agriculture, &c.	92
Grammatical Works and Dictionaries	79
Logic, Works relating to Education	13
Periodicals in loose numbers	14,777

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The accessions to the Library during the year number 1,302 volumes. Of these, 980 volumes were acquired by purchase and 322 were received as presents.

Presents of books were as usual received chiefly from the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and other local Governments; and also from the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat Funds and individual authors and donors.

The number of volumes acquired by purchase and presentation is shown in the following table :—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes presented.</i>
Religion and Theology	16	...
Philosophy	6	...
Classics and Translations	15	...
Philology and Literary History	17	8
History and Chronology	52	10
Politics, Political Economy, Trade and Commerce	16	4
Law	1	6
Government Publications and Public Records ...	...	124
Biography	88	...
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry	15	3
Voyages, Travels, Geography, Topography	61	95
Poetry and Drama	30	...
Fiction	326	...
Miscellaneous, Collected Works, Essays, &c.	28	3
Foreign Literature	10	...
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy	2	...
Art, Music, Engineering, Architecture ...	43	2
Naval and Military	28	1
Natural History, Geology, Chemistry ...	13	2
Botany, Agriculture	7	6
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology ...	6	1
Annuals, Serials, Transactions of Learned Societies	112	36
Dictionaries and Grammatical Works ...	3	...
Oriental Literature	85	21

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The papers, periodicals, journals and transactions of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during 1906 were :—

Literary Monthlies...	...	...	...	...	...	13
Illustrated ...	...	...	...	...	...	17
Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of						
Learned Societies, &c. ...	...	...	...	...	...	33
Reviews ...	...	...	...	...	...	16
English Newspapers ...	...	...	...	...	...	17
English Registers, Almanacs, Directories, &c. ...	...	...	...	...	...	13
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals ...	...	...	...	...	...	9
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals ...	...	...	...	...	...	11
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes ...	...	...	...	...	...	23
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c. ...	...	...	...	...	...	29

A Meeting of the Society as required by Article XX of the Rules, was held in November, for the revision of the list of Newspapers, Magazines, &c., taken by the Society.

At this Meeting it was resolved to discontinue—

“Photography,” “International Journal of Ethics,” “India,”

“Lancet,” “Hindustan Review” and “Indian Review”

and to subscribe to—

“Ladies' Realm” and “Ladies' Field.”

from the beginning of 1907.

COIN CABINET.

The number of coins added to the Society's Cabinet during the year was 89. Of these, 7 were gold, 66 silver and 16 copper. Of the total 89, 2 were presented by the Political Agent, Dir Swat and Chitral, and 10 by the Political Agent, Tonk. The rest were acquired from different Governments under the Treasure Trove Act.

The Coins are of the following description :—

Presented by the Government, United Provinces.

Mediæval India.

Coins of the Gupta type. Silver, 3.

Found, Fyzabad District.

Moghul Emperors.

Jahangir with name of Nur Jahan. Silver, 1.

Found, Mirzapur District.

Aurangzeb. Silver, 4.

Found, Jalaun District.

Modern India.

Coins of Native States bearing names of later Moghul Emperors. Silver, 2.

Found, Jalaun District.

ABSTRACT OF THE SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Presented by the Punjab Government.

Mediæval India.

Brahmin Kings of Kabul and Punjab.

Samant Deva. Silver, 2.

Spalapati Deva. „ 2.

Found, Shahapur District.

Moghul Emperors.

Farukh Siyar. Silver, 1.

Found, Sialkot District.

Presented by the Political Agent,

Dir, Swat and Chitral.

Durrani Kings.

Aiyub Shah Durrani. Silver, 2.

Found, Upper Swat, Malakand.

Presented by the Political Agent, Tonk.

Mediæval India,

Indo-Sassanian. Copper, 10

Found, Tonk State.

Presented by the Bombay Government.

Moghul Emperors.

Aurangzib. Silver, 1.

Shah Alam Bahadur. Silver, 1.

Farruk Siyar. Silver, 1.

Muhammad Shah. Silver, 1.

Found, Larkhana District, Sind.

Shah-Jahan. Silver, 1.

Azam Shah. Silver, 1.

Kam Baksh. Silver, 1.

Shah Alam I. Silver, 1.

Farruk-Siyar. Silver, 1.

Muhammad Shah. Silver, 1.

Found, Ahmednagar District.

Aurangzib. Gold, 1.

Shah Alam I. Gold, 1.

Muhammad Shah. Gold, 1.

Alamgir II, Gold, 1.

Shah Alam II. Gold, 1.

Found, Poona District.

Ottoman Sultans.

Murad III. Gold, 1.

Found, Ratnagiri District.

South India.

Gold Pagoda Struck by Hindu
Princes of Bijapur, before the
Mohammadan Rule, 7th or 8th
Century A. D. Gold, 1.
Found, Ratnagiri District.

Mediæval India.

Gadhaiya Coin. Silver, 1.
Found, Ratnagiri District.

Modern India.

Native States. Nizam of Hyderabad. Silver, 1.
Found, Ahmednagar District.

Presented by the Bengal Government.

Sultans of Bengal.

Shihabuddin Bagdah, Silver, 1.
Found, Mursidabad District.

Moghul Emperors.

Muhammad Shah. Silver, 2
Ahmad Shah. Do. 1
Alamgir II. Do. 4
Found, Murshidabad District.

Presented by the Government, C. P.

Mediæval India.

Gadhaiya Coins. Silver, 3.
Found, Narsinghpur District.

Pathan Sultans of Delhi.

Ghiasuddin Tughlaq Shah. Silver, 1.
Found, Bilaspur District.

Modern India.

Native States (Indore). Coins bearing name of
Shah Alam. Silver, 6.
Found, Bital District.

Moghul Emperors.

Shah Alam. Silver, 2.
Found, Bital District.
Ahmadshah. Silver, 3.
Found, Chhindwara District.
Ahmadshah. Silver, 3.
Found, Bital District.
Ahmadshah. Silver, 1.
Found, Wardha District.
Shah Alam II. Silver, 1.
Found, Hoshangabad District.

ABSTRACT OF THE SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Kings of Malwa.

Nasir Shah Khilji. Silver, 1.

Found, Hoshangabad District.

Mahmud II. Silver, 2.

Found Balaghat District.

Mahmud II. Copper, 1.

Found, Balaghat District.

Kings of Malwa. Copper, 5.

Found, Nagpur District.

By order of Government the names of the Numismatic Collection attached to the Public Library at Shillong and of the Archaeological Museum at Poona, were added to the list of Institutions to which coins are presented under the Indian Treasure Trove Act.

It was mentioned in the last year's report that a large hoard of Silver Coins of Nahapan the first of the Western Kshatrapas (A. D. 119) had been discovered in the Sinnar Taluka of the Nasik District. The hoard has since been received from the Collector of Nasik. It numbers about 14,000 Coins.

The discovery of the hoard aroused the curiosity of Numismatists and Antiquarians both in England and India, and several letters were received urging that the whole hoard should be most carefully scrutinised by an expert before distribution. A most careful classification is necessary in view of the great age of the coins and their connection with one of the oldest dynasties of foreigners in Western India. The Coins have accordingly been sent for decipherment to the Rev. H. R. Scott of Surat, who contributed a valuable paper to the Society's journal some years ago, on the Kshatrap coins found in Kahtiawar. Mr. Scott has very kindly undertaken the task of going through the hoard and writing a paper on it for the Society.

Besides coins, the Society obtained during the year the following objects of antiquarian interest :--

Three Stones bearing a Persian inscription from the Anka Fort between Manmad and Yeola, Nasik District.

Two Silahara land grants surmounted by the sun and moon and a dome from Marole, Salsette.

One headless figure of a Lion from Marole, Salsette.

*Two broken stone images of Vithoba and Rakhmai. A mutilated stone image of Gunpati. A stone slab bearing carved feet possibly those of a god or guru from Matunga, Bombay.

- A portion of a stone image of considerable age.
- A mutilated stone figure of a lion.
- A block of stone containing several mutilated figures.
- A carved stone lintel of a doorway.
- An ornamental Gopura from a temple.
- A head from a stone frieze.
- A block bearing a mutilated female figure and portions of carving.
- Two richly carved Gopuras.
- A plain rectangular carved slab.
- The head of an image (probably Shiva) with a high cap, elaborately carved.
- A small slab bearing the figure of a Jain Tirthankara (?) with a canopy overhead supported by two pillars
- A block bearing two mutilated female figures standing.
- A slab bearing the standing figure of a Hindu god (Shiva?) slightly mutilated, surmounted by a canopy resting on two pillars.
- A small slab bearing two headless figures.
- A brick bearing two human figures defaced.
- A brick bearing a human figure with another resting on its loins, defaced
- A large block consisting of elaborately carved Gopuras.
- An ornamental Gopura.
- A slightly broken image of a Kichaka (Vira Kantha) generally placed on the top of pillars and in the centre of old Hindu arches.
- A slab bearing an inscription in ancient Devnagari characters.
- A Silahara land grant with the Ass Curse at the foot.
- A defaced female image, probably of Parvati.
- Two stones bearing a Persian inscription, dated A. H. 1002.
From Thana.

CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS OF ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST, ETC., IN THE MUSEUM.

All the curios, historical objects, and archæological remains preserved in the Society's Museum have been numbered, and a Catalogue of them has been prepared and printed.

IRANIAN BOOKS PURCHASE FUND.

The books which were ordered from England last year have been received. Being in paper covers they have all been rebound and placed on separate shelves by themselves in the Oriental Literature Room.

CAMPBELL MEMORIAL MEDAL.

With a view to recognise the distinguished services of the late Sir James Campbell in Oriental Research, some of his friends raised a memorial fund in his name. The sum collected for the fund amounts to Rs. 3,000, which have been invested in Bombay Port Trust 4% bonds.

Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S., on behalf of the subscribers to the memorial, intimated a desire to hand over the sum collected to the Society for founding a medal to be awarded for contributions on the subject of oriental history, folk-lore, ethnology, &c., calculated to further the objects of the Society.

A trust deed was drafted and submitted to the Committee of Management for approval. The Committee considered the draft at a meeting held on 10th July and signified their formal approval subject to a few minor alterations.

The Trust deed as finally prepared by Messrs. Little & Co., Solicitors, was placed before a general meeting of the Society held on 13th February 1907. It was unanimously adopted at the Meeting and three Trustees were appointed to be in charge of the fund.

**RE-ARRANGEMENT AND A NEW CATALOGUE
OF WORKS OF FICTION**

In deference to the openly expressed desire of many members, the entire stock of Novels in the Library has been re-arranged by authors in alphabetical order. Various works of individual authors which were formerly scattered over several shelves have been all brought together in one place.

Further, in accordance with a former resolution of the Committee of Management, some 400 Novels which were rarely required by members have been removed from the Novel presses after a careful scrutiny of the whole collection.

This work has rendered necessary the preparation of a new Catalogue of Novels. The new Catalogue which has been prepared is divided into two parts, the first consisting of an index of authors in alphabetical order and the second of an index of the titles of Novels, including entries of anonymous works.

The Catalogue is now in the press and will 'shortly be ready.' When it is printed it will be sold to members at such price as may hereafter be settled.

REPAINTING AND VARNISHING THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS.

After a certain amount of delay the entire portion of the Town Hall in the occupation of the Society has been revarnished, and repainted by the Public Works Department. This work was very necessary; for so far as can be gathered, no renewal had taken place for about ten years. The best thanks of the Society are due to Government for the thorough and satisfactory manner in which the work has been carried out.

JOURNAL.

Number 61 forming Part II of Vol. XXII of the Journal was published during the year. It contains all the papers received during the year, and two papers, "Comparison of the Avestic doctrine of the Fravashees with the Platonic Doctrines of the Ideas and other later doctrines" and "Marathi Historical Literature," read at meetings in 1904 and 1905, together with an abstract of the proceedings of the Society and a list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to it from January to December 1906. One paper, "Bombay as seen by Dr. Ives in 1754," read at a meeting in October, has been held over and will appear in the next number of the Journal

FINANCE.

A statement showing in detail the items of income and expenditure for 1906 is appended.

The actual total receipts by subscription from Members during the year under report amount to Rs. 13,712-4-0. The subscriptions in 1905 amounted to Rs. 12,726-3-4. There were, besides Rs. 880 received on account of Life subscriptions from one Resident Member and one Non-Resident Life Member who became a Resident Life Member during the year. This sum has been duly invested in Government securities in accordance with article XVI of the Rules.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 2,386-4-2.

The invested funds of the Society amount to Rs. 16,900.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar proposed that the Report be adopted. Mr. James MacDonald seconded the proposal.

After a few remarks by the President, the Report was unanimously adopted.

The Honorary Secretary proposed that the following gentlemen should constitute the Committee of Management for 1907.

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT FOR 1907.

President.

The Honorable Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar.

Vice-Presidents.

James MacDonald, Esq.

K. R. Cama, Esq.

The Honorable Mr. Justice H. Batty, I.C.S.

Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.

Members.

F. R. Vicaji, Esq.

Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.

Dastur Darab P. Sanjana.

Darasha R. Chichgar, Esq.

J. R. Aspinwall, Esq.

Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni.

L. C. H. Young, Esq.

Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar.

Prof. E. H. McDougall.

T. A. Savage, Esq.

V. P. Vaidya, Esq.

Fazulbhoj C. Ebrahim, Esq.

Hon. Secretary.

S.M. Edwardes, Esq., I.C.S.

Hon. Auditors.

H.R.H. Wilkinson, Esq.

Sadanand T. Bhandare, Esq.

Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson seconded the proposition.

Sir Bhalchandra suggested that the names of the Rev. Dr. Scott and Mr. Wilkinson be substituted for those of the Rev. Drs. Mackichan and Abbott, as the former was about to leave for Europe and the latter had already left.

The suggestion being accepted, the proposition was unanimously carried.

Mr. Justice Chandavarkar then moved a vote of thanks to the retiring President, which was seconded by Mr. MacDonald and unanimously endorsed.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 26th September.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

A paper on the Parās'ariya Dharma S'astra by the late Mr. Shamrao Vitthal, communicated by the President, was then read.

The Honorary Secretary and the President made remarks on the paper.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, the 23rd November 1907.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, President, in the Chair.

The following proposals about periodicals were laid before the meeting :—

By Lt.-Col. W. H. Quicke, I.M.S.

That " Pictorial Comedy " be taken.

By Mr. S. S. Setlur -

That " Hindustan Review,"

" Indian Review,"

" Modern Review,"

" Madras Review," be taken.

By Prof. E. H. McDougall—

That " Indian Educational Journal " (Monthly),

" New Asiatic Review " (Monthly), be taken.

The proposals for new additions were considered, and the existing list was examined, and it was resolved that the following be subscribed for from the beginning of 1908.—

" Modern Review."

" Madras Review."

" The New Asiatic Monthly Review."

" Indian Education Journal."

" Indian Social Reformer."

and that those named below be discontinued from the same date :—

" Engineering."

" London, Edinburgh and Dublin Philosophical Magazine.

" Political Science, Quarterly."

" O. M. Fur den Orient."

The President referred to the approaching departure from Bombay of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, and moved a vote of thanks to him for his services as Honorary Secretary of the Society.

The proposition being seconded by Mr. Tribhovandas Mangaldas was carried unanimously

List of Presents to the Library.

1907.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors</i>
ACCOUNTS, Trade by Rail and River, India, 1905-06.	Government of India.
ACTS, Government of India 1906.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Ajmer-Merwara, 1905-06.	Government of India.
————— Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1905-06.	Government of India.
————— Report, Bengal, 1905-06.	Bengal Government.
————— Report, Burma, 1905-06.	Burma Government.
————— Report, Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1905-06.	Government, Eastern Bengal and Assam.
————— Report, Irrigation Works, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
————— Report, Madras, 1905-06.	Madras Government.
————— Report, North-West Frontier, 1905-06.	Government of India.
————— Report, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.
————— Report, Railways in India, 1906.	Secretary of State for India.
————— Report, U.-P., 1905-06.	Government, U.-P.
ANNUAL Report of the Working of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act, 1906.	Punjab Government.
AGRICULTURAL Journal of India, Vol. I, 1906.	Government of India.
————— Journal of India, Vol. II, Pt. I.	Government of India.
————— Ledger, 1905-06.	Government of India.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
AGRICULTURAL Statistics of India, 22nd Issue, 1901-02—1905-06.	Government of India.
AIWISRUTRIMA Ratu.	Parsee Panchayat.
ANCIENT KHOTAN, By M. A. Stein.	Government of India.
ANNALS, Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta, Vol. IX, Part II.	Government of India.
ANTHROPOMETRIC Data from Bombay.	Government of India.
————— Data from Burma.	Government of India.
AREA and Yield of certain Principal Crops in India, 1907.	Government of India.
ARGUMENT A PRIORI, Gillespie.	Trustees of Mrs. Gillespie.
ASSAM District Gazetteer, Vol. X, Khesi and Jaintia Hills.	Government of India.
BENGAL Code, 3rd Edition, Vol. V	Government of India.
BIBLIOTHECA Buddhica, Vol. VI.	St. Petersburg Academy.
BOMBAY University Calendar, 1907-08.	University of Bombay.
————Gazetteer, Supplementary Volume VIII B., Kathiawar.	Government of India.
———— Quarterly Civil List— 1907.	Bombay Government.
BULLETIN, Department of Land Records and Agriculture, Bombay, No. 28. Date Palm.	Bombay Government.
———— l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Petersburg, V. Ser. Tome XVII, No. 5, XVIII—XXI.	St. Petersburg Academy.
———— American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XXII., 1906.	Smithsonian Institution..
———— de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme Orient, Vol. V.	The Society.
———— of the Lloyd Library ; No. 9, 1907.	The Lloyd Library.
BUREAU of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 30, Part I.	Smithsonian Institution.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
CARTOONS from Hindi Punch, 1906.	The Proprietor, Hindi Punch.
CATALOGUE of Coins, Indian Museum, Calcutta.	Government of India.
———— of Greek Coins, British Museum, (Phrygia).	British Museum.
———— of MSS., British Museum, Marathi, Gujerathi, Bengali, &c.	British Museum.
———— of Sanskrit MSS., Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vol. IV.	Government of Madras.
CATTLE of Bombay Presidency.	Bombay Government.
CLIMATOLOGICAL Atlas of India.	Government of India.
DIGEST of Indian Law Cases, 1904. C. E. Grey.	Government of India.
———— of Indian Law Cases (Wigley)	Government of India.
DISTRICT Gazetteer, Baluchistan, Quetta, Pishin District, Vols. A & B.	Government of India.
———— Gazetteer, Bengal, Balasore, Darjeeling, Darbhanga, Cuttack, Shahabad, Gaya, Muzaffarpur, Patna, Palamau, Champaran.	Government of India.
———— Gazetteer Central Provinces, Narsingpur, Damboli, Wardha and Sangli Districts and Statistical Tables, Sambalpur, Seoni, Betul.	Government of India.
———— Gazetteer, Madras; Tanjore District, Vol. I., South Arcot District, Vol. I., Vizagapatam, Madura and Statistical Appendices, Salem, Nellore and Ganjam	Government of India.
———— Gazetteer, N.-W. Frontier Provinces, Vol. I. B., Hazara District.	Government of India.
———— Gazetteer, Punjab, Hoshiarpur District, Jhelum Gazetteer Supplement, Statistical Tables, Lahore District, Chenab Colony.	Government of India.
———— Gazetteer, U. P., Vol. XA., Fatehpur.	Government of India.
EAST and West Indian Mirror.	Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
EAST India Accounts and Estimates, 1907-08.	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Advisory and Legislative Councils, &c.)	Secretary of State for India.
———— Estimates, Revenue and Expenditure, 1906-07.	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Officers), (Exchange Compensation), Resolutions of Government of India.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Financial Statement 1907-08.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Home Account, 1905-06-07.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Income and Expenditure, 1895-96 to 1905-06	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Plague) Correspondence regarding measures for the Prevention of Plague.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Progress and Condition, 1905-06.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Punjab Land Colonisation Bill.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Tables relating to Trade of British India, 1901-02—1905-06.	Secretary of State for India.
EINLEITENDE Gedanken Zur dastellung der Morphologie der Turk Sprachen von Radloff.	St. Petersburg Academy.
FINANCE and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India, 1905-06.	Government of India.
FIRST Report of Fruit Experiments at Pusa.	Government of India.
GAUNCHES of Teneriffe, Second Series, (Hak. Soc.) Vol. 21.	Bombay Government.
GAZETTEER, Bombay Presidency, Vols. 2 B to 24 B and index.	Government of India.
GENERAL Statutory Rules and Orders, Vols. I—III.	Government of India.
GOWRISHANKAR Udayashankar Oza, a Biography (in Gujerathi).	Vasheshankar Gowrishankar, Esq.
G. T. SURVEY of India, Account of Operations, Vol. XVIII.	Government of India.
HARISCHANDRA Krishna Joshi, a Biography (Marathi).	The Author.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
HISTORY of Services, Gazetted Officers, Bombay—Corrected up to 1st July 1907.	Bombay Government.
——— of the Rise and Fall of the Persian Empire, Vol. I (Gujerathi).	Parsee Panchayat and D. J. Tata, Esq.
INCOME Tax Returns, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
IMPERIAL Gazetteer of India*, Indian Empire, Vols. 1, 3, 4	Government of India.
INDEX to the Reports of the Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, 1836-1905.	The Chamber.
INDIAN Insect Pests. H. M. Lefroy.	Government of India.
——— Law Reports, Bombay, 1906.	Bombay Government.
——— Allahabad, 1906	U. P. Government.
——— Madras, 1906.	Madras Government.
——— Calcutta, 1906.	Bengal Government.
——— Record Series, Old Fort William.	Government of India
——— Weather Review. Annual Summary, 1905	Government of India.
INSCRIPTIONS Indianas. J. H. DeMoara.	The Author.
JOURNAL, American Oriental Society, Vols. 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 27 (second half), 28 (first half).	The Society.
———, Bengal Asiatic Society, 1906, Part II.	The Society.
——— North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society., Vol. 38, 1907.	The Society.
——— R. A. Society, 1907	The Society.
——— Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Nos. 46 & 47 (1906).	The Society.
——— of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute. Vol. 39.	The Institute.
JUDICIAL and Administrative Statistics, 1905-06.	Government of India.

Titles of Books.

Donors.

KEY to interpret the Veda.

R. R. Bhagvat.

KHORDA Avesta Arthah (Sanskrit).

Parsee Panchayat.

L'ARCHITECTURE Hindoue, en Extreme Orient.

L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.

LIFE and Miracle of Takla Haymanot.

Lady Meux.

LINGUISTIC Survey of India, Vol. IV, Munda and Dravidian Languages.

Government of India.

— Survey of India, Vol. IX, Indo-Aryan Family, Central Group, Part III. (Bhil Languages).

Government of India.

List of Sanskrit and Hindi MSS. Sanskrit College, Benares.

U. P. Government.

McKEAN, Historical Notes.

The Author.

MADRAS Government Museum, Bulletin, Vol. V, Nos. 2 and 3, Anthropology.

Madras Government.

MARRIAGE under Ancient Hindu Law. By G. M. Tripathi.

R. V. Mehta, Esq.

MEMOIRS of the American Museum of Natural History :—

Vol. IV, Part V.

Vol. V, Part III.

Vol. VIII.

Vol. X.

Vol. XI, Part I.

Vol. XIV, Part I.

The Museum.

— of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, 1905-06.

The Society.

Geological Survey of India, Palæontologia Indica, Series
XV, Vol. V, No. 2.

Director, Geological Survey of India.

— of the Indian Meteorological Department, Vol. XVIII,
Part I.

Government of India.

— Royal Astronomical Society. Appendix to Vol. LVII.

The Society.

METHOD in the Study of Indian Antiquities. By A. M. T. Jackson,
M. A., I.C.S.

The Author.

MONOGRAPH on Carpet-making, Punjab, 1905—07.

Punjab Government.

*Titles of Books.**Donors.*

- NOTE on Dispensaries and Charitable Institutions, Punjab, 1906.
Punjab Government.
- on Registration Returns, Punjab, 1906
Punjab Government.
- on the Stamp Statements, Punjab, 1906-07.
Punjab Government.
- on Vaccination, Bombay Presidency, 1906-07.
Bombay Government.
- on Vaccination, Punjab, 1906-07
Punjab Government.
- NOTICES of Sanskrit MSS., Series 2, Vol. 3.
Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- ORIGIN of the Bantu.
Government, Cape of Good Hope.
- PAPERS, Second Revision Survey Settlement, Bijapur Taluka, Bijapur.
Bombay Government.
- Second Revision Survey Settlement, Kopaigaon Taluka,
Ahmadnagar District.
Bombay Government.
- Second Revision Survey Settlement, Sangamner Taluka,
Ahmadnagar District.
Bombay Government.
- - Revision Survey Settlement, Hala and Labdaria Talukas.
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